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Հայ-իրանական մշակութային եւ հասարակական եռամսյա հանդես
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Անգլերեն Պետրոս Ոսկանի կտակը
Պարսկերեն Հայերի ցեղասպանությունը Ադրբեջանում 1918-20

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فهرست

فارسی کشتار ارمنیان در "آذربایجان" ۱۹۲۰-۱۹۱۸

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شمارگان ۱۰۰ بها ۱۰۰۰۰ تومان

چاپ احسان-تهران چهارراه ولیعصر پلاک ۱۱۴۸

Կամսար Ավետիսյան**ՀԱՅՐԵՆԱԳԻՏԱԿԱՆ ԷՏՅՈՒՂՆԵՐ****ԻՆՉ ԵՆ ՊԱՏՄՈՒՄ ԱՄԻՍՆԵՐԻ ԵՎ ՕՐԵՐԻ
ԱՆՈՒՆՆԵՐԸ¹**

Երբ 16-րդ դարում ընդունվեց համաշխարհային օրացույցը, ապա ըստ այդ տոմարի տարվա առաջին ամիսը համարվեց հունվարը, իսկ ամիսները կոչվեցին հռոմեական անուններով: Այդ բանը հայերը նույնպես ընդունեցին և Նավասարդ անունը փոխարինվեց օգոստոս անունով և դարձավ տարվա ոչ թե առաջին, այլ ութերորդ ամիսը:

Ներկայիս տարվա բաժանումը ամիսների գոյություն ունի ավելի քան երկու հազար տարի: Նա մեզ մոտ է եկել Հուլյան օրացույցի հետ, Հին Հռոմից: Այդտեղից էլ եկել են ամիսների անունները:

Ինչպես հայտնի է, հռոմեացիների Նոր տարին սկսվում էր զարնանը, և ամիսները սկզբում պարզապես համարակալվում էին, առաջինը այն ամիսն էր, որը հիմա կոչվում է մարտ: Բայց ժամանակի ընթացքում միայն չորս ամիս մնացին թվական անուններով: Այսինքն յոթերորդից մինչև տասներորդը ներառյալ՝ սեպտեմբեր, հոկտեմբեր, նոյեմբեր և դեկտեմբեր, իհարկե, մարտը հաշվելով առաջին ամիսը: Մնացած ամիսները վերանվանվեցին: Դրանցից հինգը կոչվեցին դիցաբանական անուններ՝ Յանուարի, Փեբրուարիոսի, Մարսի, Մայա (հունական Մայիոս) և Յունոնա անուններով: Ամիսներից ապրիլը կոչվեց ըստ տարվա եղանակի, նկատի ունենալով Իտալիայի ապրիլյան օրերը: Իսկ մյուս երկու ամիսներից մեկը կոչվեց Հուլիոս Կեսարի, մյուսը՝ նրա հաջորդ Օգոստոս կայսեր անունով:

Այժմ մոտիկից ծանոթանանք ամիսների անունների ծագմանը:

Հունվար. Տաբեմուտի ամիսն է: Տարվա սկիզբն է, բայց, ձմեռվա

¹ *Ավետիսյան Կ.Մ., Հայրենագիտական Էտյուդներ: «Սովետական գրող» հրատարակչություն, Երևան, 1979, գլուխ 23:*

կեսը:

Հունվարը այդպես է կոչվել ի պատիվ հռոմեական Յանուս աստծու: Սակայն այդ անունը մեզ անցել է հունարենից, արդեն որոշ փոփոխման ենթարկվելով՝ դառնալով հունվար:

Ըստ ավանդության հռոմեացիների մոտ երկար ժամանակ վեճ է գնացել, թե տարվա առաջին ամիսը որն ընդունել, հունվարը (Յանուսի անունով), թե մարտը (պատերազմի աստված Մարսի անունով): Վիճաբանության արդյունքը եղել է այն, որ մեծամասնությունը կողմ է եղել նոր տարվա սկիզբը համարել հունվարը այն ակնկալությամբ, որ ամբողջ տարին խաղաղություն լինի:

Յանուսը հռոմեացիների մոտ համարվում էր ոչ միայն տարվա և ժամանակի շարժիչ աստվածը, այլև ելք ու մուտք կարգավորողը: Յանուսը նաև պահապանն էր տան դռան և քաղաքի դարբասների: Ըստ հռոմեացիների, ամեն ինչ սկսվում է Յանուսով: Հարուստ հռոմեացիները նրա կիսանդրիով զարդարում էին իրենց տան մուտքը և քաղաքի դարբասները:

Յանուսը պատկերվում էր երկու դեմքով: Մի դեմքով նայում էր առաջ՝ ապագան, իսկ մյուսով՝ ետ, անցյալը: Այսպիսով Յանուսի պատկերումը խորհրդանշում էր անցյալն ու ապագան: Յանուսի մի ձեռքին բանալի կար, իսկ մյուսում՝ գայիսոն: Դա խորհրդանշում էր այն, որ նա բանալիով բացում էր տների դռներն ու քաղաքի դարբասները, իսկ գայիսոնը նշան էր իշխանության: Այսինքն՝ հին տարին իր իշխանությունը հանձնում էր նորին:

Երբ ընդունվեց համաշխարհային օրացույցը և հունվարն էլ համարվեց տարվա առաջին օրը՝ Նոր տարի, Յանուսին նվիրված ամսվա առաջին օրվա տոնակատարությունը ձուլվեց Նոր տարվա տոնի հետ: Այդ օրը ոչ ոք իրավունք չուներ աղմկելու, հայիոյելու, վիճելու, հակառակ դեպքում Յանուսը կբարկանար և մարդկանց վատ տարի կուղարկեր:

Հայկական տոմարում հունվարը համընկնում է արաց ամսի հետ:

Փետրվար. Ձմռան վերջին ամիսն է: Փետրվարը, ըստ մի բացատրության, իր անունը ստացել է հին հռոմեական չար աստված Փեբրուարիոսից:

Մեր թվականությունից 56 տարի առաջ Յուլիոս Կեսարի հրամանով կատարված օրացույցի բարեփոխումից հետո փետրվարը դարձավ երկրորդ ամիսը և ուներ 29 օր: Հետագայում ամիսներից մեկը ի պատիվ Յուլիոս Կեսարի կոչվեց Յուլիս, իսկ դրան հաջորդող օգոստոս ամիսն էլ՝ Օգոստոս կայսեր պատվին: Բայց օգոստոսն ուներ միայն 30 օր, իսկ հուլիսը՝ 31: Մի բան, որ ընդգծում է Կեսարի գերազանցությունը Օգոստոս կայսեր նկատմամբ: Որոշվեց մեկ օր վերցնել փետրվարից և ավելացնել օգոստոս ամսվա օրերի թվին: Այսպիսով փետրվար ամսին, որը կապված էր հռոմեական չար աստծո անվան հետ, մնաց 28 օր: Միայն նահանջ տարին է մեկ օրով ավելանում և դառնում 29 օր:

Փետրվարը հայկական տոմարում համընկնում է մեհեկան ամսվա հետ: Այդ ամսին մեծ տոնախմբություն էր կատարվում ի պատիվ Միհրի, որը զրադաշտական աստվածն էր: Նա մարմնավորում էր արեգակը և կրակը: Միհրի պաշտամունքը իր ժամանակին եղել է հեթանոսական Հայաստանում: Միհրին նվիրված տաճարներն էլ կոչվում էին մեհյան:

Մարտ. Գարնան առաջին ամիսն է, տարվա առավոտը: Օրերը սկսում են շուտ լուսանալ, ուշ մթնել: Արթնանում է բնությունը, որը կարծես թե բախտավորություն և ուրախություն է ճառագայթում, շոյում մեր հոգին: Սակայն այս ամսվա անունը բնավ էլ սազական չի նրան: Մարտ անունը կապված է Հին Հռոմի պատերազմի աստված Մարսի անվան հետ, որը շրջում է հրեղեն մարտակառքով: «Մարսյան դաշտ» պատկերավոր արտահայտությունը ունի ռազմի դաշտ իմաստ: Հին Հռոմում այսպես էր կոչվում Տիբրոս գետի ձախափնյա մասում գտնվող հրապարակը, ուր կատարվում էին ռազմական ու մարզական վարժություններ: Այդպես է կոչվում նաև Փարիզի արևմտյան մասում գտնվող այն հրապարակը, որը իր ժամանակին ծառայել է զինվորական նպատակով:

Մինչև Գրիգորյան տոմարի գործածությունը մարտը եղել է հռոմեական օրացույցի առաջին ամիսը:

Հայկական տոմարում մարտը համընկնում է արեգ ամսի հետ:

Ապրիլ. Ամվան ծագումը գալիս է լատիներենից՝ «բացվել» բառից: Այդ ամսին բացվում են ծառերի բողբոջները: Ապրիլին արևը, ձյունը և անձրևը փոփոխակի են: «Օրական՝ յոթ եղանակ, ու չգիտես, թե որին հավատաս»: Ապրիլ ամսվա անհուսալի և

փոփոխական եղանակը հիմք է ծառայել Նրա սկիզբը համարել ոչ բարերար: Մարդիկ կատակի միջոցով ցանկացել են ապրիլյան «անհավատարմությունից» ազատվել և որոշել են կատակի միջոցով ազատվելու՝ ապրիլի մուտքը կատակ-խաբելով նշանավորվել: Այդ պատճառով էլ ապրիլի մեկը համարում են խաբելու օր:

Ապրիլը համապատասխանում է հին հայկական տոմարի ահեկան ամսին:

Մայիս. Գարնան վերջին ամիսն է, հիանալի և գեղեցիկ օրերով: Փետրավոր ամպերն են լողում երկնքում: Մայիս ամիսը նվիրված է հռոմեացիների Մայա (հունարեն Մայիոս) աստվածուհուն, որը համարվում էր Մերկուրիի (Յերմեսի) մայրը, Ատլանտի դուստրը:

Մայա աստվածուհու տոնը նշվում էր Մայիս ամսին և կոչվում էր սիրուն մայիս: Նրա պատվին մայիսի մեկին մեծ զոհաբերություններ էին մատուցում:

Յին հայերի մոտ այս ամիսը կրել է մարերի անունը:

Յունիս. Ամռան առաջին ամիսն է: Որոտում է կայծակը, աղմկում է անձրևը: Պարտեզները զարդարվում են ծաղիկներով, իսկ լեռներն ու դաշտերը՝ առատ խոտով:

Յունիսը նվիրված էր Յունոնա աստվածուհուն, որը հռոմեական դիցաբանական պանթեոնում կանանց ու ընտանեկան կենցաղի հովանավորողն է:

Յունիսը համընկնում է հայկական մարգաց անվան հետ:

Յուլիս. Ամռան հրաշագեղ ամիսն է: Վատ եղանակը հատուկ չէ Նրան: Յուլիսը այդպես է կոչվում ի պատիվ Յուլիոս Կեսարի:

Յայկական տոմարում հուլիսը համընկել է հրոտից ամսվա հետ:

Օգոստոս. Ամռան վերջին ամիսն է, ոսկե աշնան նախադուռը: Օգոստոսն իր անունը ստացել է ի պատիվ հռոմեական Օգտավիանոս կայսեր, որը հետագայում ստացավ օգոստոս տիտղոսը (նշանակում է վսեմաշուք):

Պատմական Հայաստանում օգոստոսը եղել է տարվա առաջին ամիսը և կոչվել է Նավասարդ:

Սեպտեմբեր. Աշնան առաջին ամիսը, եզրափակվում է ամառը: Սկսվում է ոսկե աշունը՝ պարզ ու թափանցիկ երկնքով:

Սեպտեմբերը արդեն շարունակում է հաջորդ երեք ամիսների նման պահել թվային անվանումը: Սեպտեմբեր լատիներեն սեպտիմ յոթ բառից է:

Հայկական տոմարում համընկնում է հռոմի ամսվա հետ:

Հոկտեմբեր. Աշնան երկրորդ ամիսը: Ավարտվում է այգեկութը: Հոկտեմբեր լատիներեն օկտո բառից է, որը նշանակում է «ուր»:

Համապատասխանում է հայկական սահմի անվան:

Նոյեմբեր. Աշնան վերջին ամիսն է, երբ օրերը կարճանում են, լույսը քչանում է: Լուսաբացն ու մթնշաղը կարծես իրար են հանդիպում ամպամած օրվա կեսին:

Լատիներեն նովեմ ինը բառից է: Սա հռոմեացիների իններորդ ամիսն է, մարտից հաշված:

Հին հայկական տոմարում համընկնում է տրե, այսինքն՝ չորրորդ ամսին: Սա կապված է Տիր աստծու հետ, որը պահլավական, ինչպես նաև հայերի աստվածներից մեկն էր:

Ի դեպ, այստեղից էլ՝ Տրդատ, այսինքն Տիրի կամ Տրեի տրված:

Դեկտեմբեր. Ձմռան առաջին ամիսն է: Անունը անցել է հունարենից՝ դեցեմ, այսինքն՝ «տասներորդ» բառից:

Սակայն հին հռոմեացիների տասներորդ ամիսը ըստ կարգի տասներկուերորդը դարձավ, երբ տարվա առաջին ամիսը հունվարը հաշվեցին: Սակայն նրա անվան հիմքում մնաց հունարեն դեկտեմբրիս բառը, այսինքն՝ տասներորդ:

Համապատասխանում է հին հայկական տոմարի քաղոց ամսին:

Մի երկու խոսք շաբաթվա օրերի անվանումների մասին: Ամիսը ունի չորս շաբաթ: Ամեն մի շաբաթ կազմված է յոթ օրից: Յոթնյակը մարդկության պատմության մեջ հատուկ նշանակության է ստացել:

Շաբաթվա օրերը կրել են արեգակնային համակարգի մեջ մտնող միավորների անունները: Մեր այսօրվա կիրակին համադրվել է Արեգակին, երկուշաբթին՝ Լուսնին, երեքշաբթին՝ Մարսին (Յրատին), չորեքշաբթին՝ Մերկուրիին (Փայլածուին), հինգշաբթին՝ Յուպիտերին (Լուսնթագին), շաբաթը՝ Սատուռնին (Երևակին):

Հետագայում Աստվածաշունչը թարգմանելով եբրայերենից և հեթանոս կրոնը քրիստոնեությամբ փոխարինելով, եկեղեցին ընդունեց եբրայեցիների շաբաթվա օրերի անունները, որոնք այսպես էին՝ միաշաբաթ, երկուշաբթի, երեքշաբթի, չորեքշաբթի, հինգշաբթի, ուրբաթ և շաբաթ:

Շաբաթը հրեաների մոտ համարվել է ոչ աշխատանքային օր և բառացի նշանակում է «հանգիստ»: «Ուրբաթը (կամ հրեաների մոտ պարասագը) նշանակում է «նախապատրաստվել»։ այդ օրը նախապատրաստվում էին հանգստի օրվա համար: Միաշաբաթ նշանակում է շաբաթից հետո առաջին օր, երկուշաբթի՝ երկրորդ օր և այլն: Ի դեպ, հայերը ուրբաթի վախարեն օգտագործել են նաև «վեցշաբթի» անվանումը: Բայց ո՞ր է այժմյան կիրակին: Այն գրավել է եբրայեցիների միաշաբթիի տեղը: Երբ տարածվում է քրիստոնեությունը, ապա Զրիստոսի ավանդական հարություն առնելու կապակցությամբ, միաշաբաթը վերանվանվել է կիրակի: Հունարեն «կիրակի» բառացի նշանակում է տերուական, տիրով օր: Եվ որպեսզի հրեաների հանգստի օրվա հետ չհամընկնի, որոշվում է հանգստի օրը շաբաթից տեղափոխել կիրակի օրը: Այն ընդունվեց 321 թվականին, Կոնստանդիանոս Մեծի հրովարտակով:

The “Book of Will” of Petrus Woskan (1680-1751): Some Insights into the Global Commercial Network of the Armenians in the Indian Ocean¹

Bhaswati Bhattacharya*

Abstract

This paper argues that “insider” material, preserved by the Armenians in the archives of the cathedral in New Julfa presents, by virtue of its logic, a one-sided, consensual picture. “Outsider” material contests this view and highlights the underlying conflicts of interest that even existed among the core members of the network. The picture that emerges from this study points to a more dynamic, complex structure in which the multiple interests of individual members of family firms, kin, and community members in different capacities were grafted into one. Loopholes in the system were visible as early as the 1720s, long before the center at New Julfa collapsed.

Les archives arméniennes ont été conservées dans la cathédrale de la Nouvelle Julfa. Ces sources “internes” présentent, selon nous, une image partielle de consensus. L’examen minutieux des sources “externes” par contre fait ressortir des conflits d’intérêts même entre les grands négociants du réseau arménien. Ces documents-là attestent des structures complexes plus dynamiques. Dans ce cadre s’inscrivaient les multiples intérêts des membres individuels de la firma familiale, des parents, et des membres de la communauté. Et les faiblesses du système sont déjà perceptibles dans les années vingt du XVII^{ème} siècle, bien avant l’effondrement de son centre à la Nouvelle Julfa.

Keywords

Commenda, merchant network, trust, opportunistic behavior

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¹⁾ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the European Conference for South Asian Studies in Leiden, June 2006. Many of the questions addressed here were formulated during my discussions with Gautam Bhadra and the late Arun Das Gupta. Gita Dharampal-Frick and Jos Gommans, the co-organizers of the panel, have extended their co-operation. Sebouh Aslanian’s comments on earlier versions of this paper have inspired me to have a critical look at his works and at my own material. William Gervase Clarence-Smith has

The role of Armenian merchants in the world trade of early-modern times is well acknowledged. After being dispersed from their original homeland in different periods of history, they spread overland and overseas to countries in Europe, South, Southeast, and East Asia, and across the Pacific to the New World. This paper focuses on the commercial network of *Khoja* Petrus Woskan, who left New Julfa for Madras and eventually died at the latter place. The last will or testament that he wrote before his death is unique because it allows us a rare insight into the social and commercial world of an Armenian merchant; it includes details about how capital was accumulated and invested, how agents were recruited, and describes the assets that the testator left.² Drawing on this will and other legal documents—mainly testaments and litigation presented before the Mayor's Court—I shall make an attempt at understanding the way in which a community like the Armenians—living scattered in different parts of the world—organized their trans-regional commerce. What was the relationship between the merchant principals and their agents, or between different members of a network? How did Petrus Woskan—who left New Julfa at the age of twenty-five and had no family—organize his commercial network? These and other questions are dealt with in this essay by means of a comparison between the organization of commerce of the Maghribi merchants in the Mediterranean and that of the Armenians on the basis of the

kindly read this paper and given comments. I am grateful to all these scholars, especially Jos, for his support and helpful comments and to the anonymous referee of this journal whose insightful comments helped me to put the paper in the present shape.

The English translation of the will refers to the original document as “Book of Will,” written in Armenian.

Khoja or *Khwaja* is an honorific title in Persian for a wealthy merchant. Armenian names in the records are not spelt in a uniform way, e.g. Canan, Canon, Canhan, Canaan are used alternately for the same person in different documents. For the sake of convenience, I have used one spelling in the text. When referring to a source, I have left the title “Coja” and the name of the merchant in the footnote unchanged.

² Unfortunately, we do not have the Armenian original of the document. Two copies of the English translation are available among the papers of the English East India Company. One copy is in the Tamil Nadu Archives (TNA), Chennai and the other copy is in the British Library (BL). I thank Aslanian for making the BL copy available to me. For an earlier study on the basis of the copy in the BL see S. Mentz, “The Commercial Culture of the Armenian Merchant: Diaspora and Social Behaviour.” *Itinerario* 28.1 (2004): 16-27. I am preparing this document with an introduction and notes for publication. See Bhaswati Bhattacharya, “The Life and Times of Petrus Woskan: A Study of his ‘Book of Will’” (forthcoming).

recent work of Avner Greif.³ The paper has two sections: the first section is an analytical discussion of the issues that are related to source material and the way in which received information has influenced our understanding of Armenian commercial networks; the second one illustrates the working of Petrus Voskan's network.

One of the scholars who introduced us to the world of Armenian merchants, particularly those in India, was Mesrobian Seth.⁴ Seth used both Armenian-language sources and those from different European archives. Scholars like Ronald W. Ferrier, on the other hand, used documents about Armenians that were located in European archives.⁵ The collection of documents pertaining to Armenians in the English East India Company archives which was published a few years back by Vahe Baladouni and Margaret Makepeace functions as an addition to this genre.⁶ However, since Levon Khachikian published his essay on the ledger of *Khoja* Hovhannes, secondary works on the basis of Armenian-language material have further enriched our knowledge about the *modus operandi* of Armenian merchants in various parts of the world.⁷ Among the scholars who have made extensive use of Armenian-language material from the "geniza" of the All Saviour's Cathedral in New Julfa and have disseminated their

³ Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). I am grateful to Aslanian for drawing my attention to this work.

⁴ Mesrobian J. Seth, *Armenians in India from the Earliest Times to the Present Day: A Work of Original Research* (New Delhi: Oxford & IBH, 1983) (first published 1937): 122-134. This is the enlarged edition of Seth's earlier work, *History of the Armenians in India* (Calcutta, 1897).

⁵ Ronald W. Ferrier, "The Agreement of the East India Company with the Armenian Nation, 22nd June, 1688." *Revue de Etude Armennien*, new series 7 (1970): 427-43; Ronald W. Ferrier, "The Armenians and the East India Company in Persia in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century." *Economic History Review*, 2nd series 26.1 (1973): 238-62; Ronald W. Ferrier, "An English View of the Persian Trade in 1613. Reports from the Merchants Edward Petrus and Thomas Barker." *JESHO* 19.2 (1976): 182-214; Ronald W. Ferrier, "Trade from the Mid-14th Century to the End of the Safavid Period." In *The Cambridge History of Iran*, eds. Peter Jackson and Lawrence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): volume 6.

⁶ Vahe Baladouni and Margaret Makepeace eds., *Armenian Merchants of the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: English East India Company Sources* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998).

⁷ Levon Khachikian, "The Ledger of the Merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 4th series 8.3 (1966): 153-86.

knowledge to a wider readership are Edmund Herzig, Kéram Kévonian, Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe, and most recently, Sebouh Aslanian.⁸ The questions that come up at this point are: should only the “insider” documents be considered as authentic? If so, what do we do about the other material? What does the “insider” documentation tell us about the organization of the community and its commerce? How do we balance the “insider” material with the texts preserved by others dealing with the Armenians that can be found in non-Armenian language archives? These problems will become clear if we compare the received knowledge based on “insider” material with regard to the relationships within the community with information available from other sources.

Long Distance Commerce and “Trust”

In the early modern world of long distance commerce, it was a universal practice to employ agents for conducting trade. It was a time when capital was removed from the place of business and advances had to be made long before profits could be expected. Communication was imperfect and tardy, and distances were not easy to cover. By appointing an agent, the principal merchant could not only save himself the trouble and cost of travelling, but also solve the problem of distance. Moreover, the expertise and experience of the agent helped him to better allocate and diversify his business across different trade centers. The practice of depending on agents was in vogue among the Maghribi merchants trading in the Mediterranean region

⁸⁾ Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe, *Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India, 1530-1750* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999); Edmund Herzig, “The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa, Isfahan: A Study in Pre-Modern Asian Trade.” Ph.D. thesis, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, 1991 and Edmund Herzig, “The Family Firm in the Commercial Organisation of the Julfa Armenians.” In *Études Safavides*, ed. J. Calmard (Paris: Institut Français de recherche en Iran, 1993): 287-303; Kéram Kévonian, “Un Itinéraire Arménien de la mer de Chine.” In *Histoire de Barus Sumatra: le site de Lobu Tua*, vol. 1: *Études et Documents*, ed. Claude Guillot (Paris: Cahiers d'Archipel, 1998); Sebouh Aslanian, “From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: Circulation and the Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa, 1605-1747.” Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 2006, and Sebouh Aslanian, “Social Capital, ‘Trust’ and the Role of Networks in Julfan Trade: Informal and Semi-Informal Institutions at Work.” *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 383-402.

in the medieval period.⁹ But it was also common among Sephardic Jews, Armenians, and various groups of Indian merchants.¹⁰

As agents often had to be entrusted with capital for a long period of time, commitment on their part was one of the problems inherent in the nature of this trade. For a capitalist it is essential that he can monitor his agents, but how can he make sure that a representative entrusted with capital will carry out what is required of him and not embezzle the profit and abscond? This is where the concept of trust as a rational choice on the basis of self-interest comes in, since it is implied that future employment is conditioned on past experience. A merchant (or an agent) would employ an(other) agent on the basis of his past record of reputation. He will trust because he has reason to expect that the other party will, in his own interest, reciprocate this trust. It is this condition that induces all the parties involved to remain trustworthy.¹¹

The concept of trust as the basis for mutual support has often been used in analyses of the organization and functioning of commercial communities/diasporas. For David Rudner trust or trustworthiness was part of the values ingrained in the Nakarattar Chettiar circuit of capital formation.¹²

⁹ Robert Sabatino Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955): 174; Shelomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: Economic Foundations* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967): 64; Raymond De Roover, "The Organization of Trade." In *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, eds. M. M. Postan, E. E. Rick and M. Miltey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965): vol. 3: 42-118; Avner Greif, *Institutions*.

¹⁰ J. H. Little, *The House of Jagatseth* (Calcutta: Calcutta Historical Society, 1967); T. A. Timberg, *Marwaris: From Traders to Industrialists* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978); Uma Das Gupta comp. *The World of the Indian Merchant, 1500-1800: Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001): 69; Claude Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750-1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Francesca Trivellato, "Juifs de Livourne, Italiens de Lisbonne, hindous de Goa: Réseaux marchands et échanges interculturels à l'époque moderne." *Annales HSS* 3 (2003): 581-603. I am grateful to Trivellato for drawing my attention to this paper.

¹¹ For a definition of "trust," see P. Das Gupta, "Trust as a Commodity." In *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*, ed. Diego Gambetta (New York: Blackwell, 1988); and the essays in *Russell Sage Foundation Series on Trust, vol. 2: Trust in Society*, ed. Karen Cook (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), especially Russell Hardin, "Conceptions and Explorations of Trust": 3-39, and Jean Ensminger, "Reputations, Trust and the Principal Agent Problem": 185-201.

¹² David Rudner, *Caste and Capitalism in Colonial India: The Case of Nakarattar Chettiers* (Berkeley, L. A.: University of California Press, 1994): 41, 115, 143-43, 158.

C. A. Bayly describes long distance trading communities as communities of “mercantile trust.”¹³ Inspired by Francis Fukuyama, Vahe Baladouni suggests that the concept of mutual trust—and the shared moral and ethical norms underlying it—acted as an organizing principle among the members of the Armenian community fostering the growth of Armenian capitalism in the Early Modern period.¹⁴ “Bonds of solidarity and trust based on an awareness of common membership of one nation, identified with an autocephalous church” as Michel Aghassian and Kéram Kévonian have put it, were a driving force behind the development of the Armenian merchant network.¹⁵

Recently, Greif has analyzed how, in the absence of state influence, conjoint social factors worked to ensure regularity concerning behavior in the network developed by the Maghribi merchants in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A necessary condition for this mechanism of reputation to work was the closed nature of the organization—a coalition, or business network of merchant members with a specific social identity, which in this case, meant belonging to the same community. The Maghribis employed a “set of cultural rules of behaviour”—merchants’ law—which specified how agents needed to act in order to be considered as honest in situations that were not covered by the merchants’ instructions.¹⁶ Several interrelated social factors, rules, practices, beliefs, and organizations thus guided a particular regularity of behavior, viz. the intra-group hiring of agents and honesty. Informal social arrangements specified who was entitled to membership of the coalition, how to gain information, what constituted cheating, and how to punish a defaulting agent.¹⁷

Aslanian has, however, criticized the way in which scholars have taken “trust” for granted without further attempting to analyze the concept. Following the model provided by Greif for the Maghribi merchants, he has

¹³ C. A. Bayly, “Archaic and Modern Globalization, ca. 1750-1850.” In *Globalization in World sitting room room to room if room History*, ed. A. G. Hopkins (London: Pimlico, 2002): 45-72.

¹⁴ Francis Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (London: Penguin, 1995): 26; Baladouni and Makepeace, *Armenian Merchants*: xxxiv.

¹⁵ Michel Aghassian and Kéram Kévonian, “The Armenian Merchant Network: Overall Autonomy and Local Integration.” In *Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era*, eds. Sushil Chaudhury and Michel Morineau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 74-94.

¹⁶ Greif, *Institutions*: 70.

¹⁷ Ibid.: 86-7.

drawn our attention to the coalition formed by the Julfa merchants in order to advance their business interests.¹⁸ Aslanian analyzes trust among Armenian merchants of New Julfa in the context of the sociological theory of “social capital.” According to him, Julfan Armenians formed a space- and culture-specific coalition. They represented a “diaspora within the diaspora”—a term coined by Jonathan Israel—in the sense that the evacuation from Julfa and the settlement in New Julfa had offered them a shared history.¹⁹ Their Julfa dialect, the different calendar they followed, and the membership of the new town strengthened the intra-group bond among these merchants. Moreover, membership of the same Apostolic Church and matrimonial relationships established within the group helped these expatriates to create a world of their own. The Apostolic Church at New Julfa did not only function as a sort of state for the members in the diaspora, but, by collecting and circulating stories about its members, it also worked as a clearing house of information. Any news regarding breaches of trust in the diaspora would be circulated to the members of the coalition and the ecclesiastical headquarters in New Julfa and was re-circulated from there to the parties concerned for necessary action to be taken. By emphasizing the closed nature of a coalition based upon intra-group solidarity, Aslanian would agree with Greif because his research shows that *commenda* agents appointed by New Julfa merchants came almost exclusively from the same group. The commercial correspondence written in the New Julfa dialect of Eastern Armenian that was carried by couriers and others employed by the *khwajas* could not be deciphered by outsiders—not even by other groups of Armenians. The structure of the global trade network that they built with New Julfa as its “nodal centre”—a concept used by Claude Markovits²⁰—was thus a closed system with limited membership and strict codes of conduct based on reputation, trust, and uniform norms. The tacit understanding among the members of the coalition was ensured through

¹⁸) It is remarkable that the same records have led another scholar to suggest that the Armenians of New Julfa were organized as a company of merchants. See Baghdiantz-McCabe, *Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver*: 116-25.

¹⁹) Jonathan Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World of Maritime Empires, 1540-1740*, Brill Series in Jewish Studies (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002).

²⁰) Markovits, *The Global World*: 25. See Bhaswati Bhattacharya, “Making Money at the Blessed Place of Manila: Armenians in the Madras Manila Trade in the Eighteenth Century,” unpublished paper presented to the 19th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, USA, held in Boston, 18-21 November for the concept of multiple nodes with relation to the Armenian network of trade.

a hierarchical, multi-layered monitoring and policing system which could make or break the careers of the agents. This system of control was further enforced by the informal and semi-formal legal institution known as the Assembly of Merchants (*jumiyat*) in Julfa, and reinforced by the *jumiyat*'s branches or travelling courts in the diaspora.²¹

The research carried out by Aslanian in various archives, his detailed study of the administration of New Julfa and the global reach of the merchants and *commenda* agents who spread from there, deserve attention and merit. But the way in which Aslanian presents various theories about trust, reputation, and social sanction, which were imposed by the “coalition” and worked on the basis of a consensus at multiple levels at home and abroad, implies that this institution functioned as an ideal force of coordination and solidarity. At the same time, this all-or-nothing emphasis on a reputation based network with its nodal center at New Julfa raises several questions. If a system is based on mutual trust, reputation and solidarity, why should it be fraught with layers of control, policing and regulation? The very emphasis on caution, monitoring and trust seems to underline a situation where breach of trust was perhaps common. Moreover, was there no conflict of interest among the capitalist members themselves, or the capitalist principals and their agents? In addition, did the merchants concerned see themselves as members of one monolithic coalition that they represented? Was it always possible to exercise social control from New Julfa on the agents- cum- merchants who had literally spread all over the globe?

It is important to pay some attention to these issues because historiography does not support the claim that the Armenians of New Julfa traded as members of one single organization. Shushanik Khachikyan noted that Armenians were not organized in institutions which can be compared to the European companies.²² Herzig has maintained that family firms formed the basis of the organization of Armenian commerce, though on rare occasions they also joined forces.²³ Others have noted a fierce commercial competition among the individual Armenian family firms.²⁴ In their numerous dealings with Europeans, or even in the formal litigation that only involved Armenian merchants from New Julfa, the latter never referred to themselves in India or their counterpart in New Julfa either as an “assembly” or

²¹ Aslanian, “From the Indian Ocean” and “Social Capital.”

²² Shushanik Khachikyan, private communication with the author.

²³ Herzig, “The Armenian Merchants”: 191-2.

²⁴ Ferrier, “The Armenians and the East India Company”: 58-9; Rudolph P. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver, 1600-1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 88.

from the early eighteenth century some Armenian agents/merchants in India did not always look to New Julfa for matters concerning justice. In contrast to the papers found in New Julfa, those located at the English East India Company archives in London, Calcutta, and Madras, show that the reality was much more complex and dynamic. Intra-group relationships were not static as in the case of the medieval Jewish merchants described by Greif, but were shaped by individual interests which often led to friction. The social control that was practicable in the small township of New Julfa could thus not always be enforced in the wide world outside.

Merchants at Work: Intra-Network Relationships

There is a lot of literature in economics on incomplete contracts and the implicit implications for the parties involved. The most important element underlying the concept is that contracts are inherently incomplete, as some important future variables are left out because it is difficult or impossible to anticipate them.²⁵ At the basis of Oliver Williamson's transactional cost theory is the assumption that most transactions occur with limited information (bounded rationality).²⁶ Gaps in contracts are often deliberate because the transaction costs for explicit contracting may be far greater than the benefits.²⁷ Such gaps are very much evident in the contracts signed between the wealthy Armenian merchants entitled *khwaja* or *khoja* on the one hand, and their agents on the other. Most of the contracts that have come down to us do not specify the goods to be traded, the place where the agent was to trade, or even the date within which the capital was to be

²⁵ See, e.g. Oliver D. Hart and S. J. Grossman, "The Costs and Benefits of Ownership: A Theory of Vertical and Lateral Integration." *Journal of Political Economy* 94 (1986): 691-719; Oliver Hart, *Firms, Contracts, and Financial Structure* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). Philippe Aghion and Patrick Bolton have considered a situation in which contracts were signed between a wealthy investor and an entrepreneur who needed to raise funds for his project. See Philippe Aghion and Patrick Bolton, "An Incomplete Contracts Approach to Financial Contracting." *Review of Economic Studies* 59 (1992): 473-94. For the complications arising from one particular incomplete contract among the Sephardic Jews in the diaspora, see Francesca Trivellato, "Merchants on Trial: Legal and Extra-Legal Sources of Cooperation within the Jewish Trading Diaspora in the Eighteenth Century," unpublished paper presented to the International Economic History Conference Helsinki, 2006.

²⁶ Oliver E. Williamson, *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism: Firms, Markets and Relational Contracting* (New York: The Free Press, 1985): 43-63.

the utmost by imposing authoritarian control and social sanctions on their agents.²⁹ The strict hierarchy in a patriarchal family firm stood in the way of the personal and economic freedom of the son.³⁰ But in order to work as agents, most of these people had to get out of the country. This necessity at the same time opened up the possibility for the agents to explore practically the whole world, as becomes clear from their itineraries.³¹ Since communication was difficult and time consuming this, moreover, meant that even in uncertain situations it was the agent who was responsible for the decisions that were made.³² The questions that come up at this point are: was there no overlap between the roles, was there no other category between the capitalists on the one hand, and the young *commenda* agents on the other? What was the relationship between the wealthy merchants in the diaspora and those at home? The impact of the wealth accumulated by the agents on the relationship between the principal merchants and the agents is an important aspect of Armenian commerce on which the existing literature does not shed any light.

Since the capital of the *khojas* in New Julfa was in the hands of the agents in the diaspora, the organization of Armenian commerce cannot be studied in isolation from the situation in India and other countries. The evidence on Armenian traders in India such as Aga Peri, *Khoja* Zachary di Avetik, *Khoja* Nazar Hakobjan, *Khoja* Margar, and *Khoja* Petrus indicates that they were important merchants in their own capacity. Many of them were of course members of extended families in New Julfa and continued to work in close cooperation with family firms at that place. At the same time, however, it becomes clear that though some of them initially started their careers as *commenda* agents, they soon accumulated enough money to become financially independent from the firms in New Julfa. The presence of these potential capitalists at different places (like Madras) in the diaspora opened up possibilities for newcomers. Moreover, like in any other community under nor-

²⁸) See for instance the sample contracts appended to the thesis of Herzig, *The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa*, and the contracts detailed in Woskan's will below.

²⁹) Sebouh Aslanian, "The Circulation of Men and Credit: The Role of the *Commenda* and the Family Firm in Julfan Society," *JESHO* 50.2-3 (2007); 124-71.

³⁰) Herzig, *The Armenian Merchants of New Julfa*: 162.

³¹) The testimonies of Armenian merchants in Manila, *Ibid.*, and *Records of Fort St. George* (henceforth *RFSG*), *Mayor's Court Records* (henceforth *MCR*), *Pleadings 1737*, Translate [*sic*] of the Last Will and Testament of Zachary di Avetik, 10 September, 1736.

³²) See below. In 1747-8 Woskan wanted some of his goods to be shipped from Basra to Madras. His agent Petrus did not follow this instruction and explained that the seas at that

mal circumstances, Armenian merchants were predominantly guided by self-interest, and chose to be opportunistic if that suited their interests.³³

The most intriguing case in this context is that of Nazar Hakobjan in India and his master in New Julfa. *Khoja* Nazar Hakobjan settled in Madras in 1702.³⁴ Prior to his departure for India, *Khoja* Kahnan of the Minasian family of New Julfa had advanced Nazar Hakobjan a capital of 460 *tumans* [Rs.20-23 in a *tuman*] “on Factorage Terms usual amongst Armenians.”³⁵ Nazar seems to have shuttled between Bengal—where he built the Apostolic church in Calcutta in 1724, called Holy Nazareth Church after him³⁶—and Madras, where he contributed to the upkeep of the town and owned at least one house in Charles Street.³⁷ Nazar became so successful that by 1719 Kahnan’s share of the stock alone had increased almost four-fold in worth to Rs. 45,000.³⁸ In the petition Sultan David (Nazar’s sister’s

³³ For the litigations among Sindhi merchants see Markovits, *The Global World*: 262-4; for the case of a prolonged litigation between a group of Sephardic Jews see Trivellato, “Merchants on Trial.” Referring to the theory of the strength of weak ties, Trivellato has tried to relate the crisis in this context to the low-density communication that existed between the Jews of Italy and Persia. For this theory see Mark S. Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 78.6 (1973): 1360-80; and Mark S. Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited,” *Sociological Theory* 1 (1983): 201-33. The litigations I have come across involving Armenians from New Julfa and India, were supposed to have been bound by strong ethno-religious and commercial ties.

³⁴ *RFSG, Diary and Consultation Book* (henceforth *DCB*), 1745, the petition of Sultan David, 10 July: 117-8.

³⁵ The Armenian originals of these documents are not available. There is some discrepancy in the information presented to the English in this connection. David Sultan, the brother-in-law and heir to the estate of Nazar mentioned that Kahnan had advanced the sum to Nazar, *RFSG, DCB 1745*, petition of Sultan David, 10 July: 117-8. The texts between “...” are from this petition. But another document, called the “Translate of the affairs related to the estate of Coja Nazar Jacob John deceased,” shows that Nazar had received the sum from Kahnan’s three sons: Avetik, Tarkhan, and Sarhad, *Ibid.* 21-2. The release bond signed by Avetik indicates that he also signed it as the attorney of his brothers Sarhad and Tarkhan. Copy of the original deed, signed by Avetik Canhan at Madras on 27 May 1736, *idem.* 120.

³⁶ Seth, *Armenians in India*: 429.

³⁷ Henry Davidson Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800* (New York: Ams Press, 1968): volume 2, 307-8, 338-9.

³⁸ The last will of Nazar Hakobjan has not come down to us, but the translation of an extract of it is included in the papers presented to the English by Sultan David. I have come across many wills written by Armenians in India. While all other wills open with an invocation of God/Christ, none of them is addressed personally to just one person like in this case: “My dear Amnam Peree, After my death you shall let our Factors trade; vizt. Coja Sultanam Shamir Avietick and Johannes with Sultanam’s advice. Besides these Factors those that belong to Us wherever they are send for them Civilly & clear up Accounts, and let Sultanam Shamir Avietick and Johannes be your Factors to the time of your death. After

husband) wrote to the Mayor's Court, he reported that Kahnian, who was in Calcutta in 1719, had settled the accounts with Nazar. Kahnian accepted bonds for the money from Nazar, as the latter's bond of agency in Julfa was yet to be delivered to him. However, the family of Kahnian suffered misfortunes at that time and was indebted to "almost every Church and Charity friend there, the Archbishop, many of the Clergy and most of the principal Inhabitants." The creditors were not "willing to let Nazars bond be given up till they had reaped the fruits of what he had laboured for Account Canhan." Kahnian died, still indebted, in 1720.³⁹ The factorage bond of Nazar was in force till shortly before his death, when it was delivered to Sultan David upon the latter's becoming security to pay Rs. 45,000. However, the two bonds Nazar had given to Kahnian were still in the hands of *Khoja* Avetik, one of Kahnian's sons. When Avetik was in Arcot [he, along with his brothers operated in India], Sultan sent for him. Avetik went to Madras where he signed a deed of release on behalf of himself and his brothers Tarkhan and Sarhad, but claimed that the bonds of Nazar had been in the possession of his brother Tarkhan who had died in Bengal in the mean time. Sultan David soon discovered that Avetik, whose affairs in India were also not running smoothly, had pawned the bonds (worth Rs. 45,000) to *Khoja* Hovannes di Khojamal for Rs. 500! Meanwhile, Nazar died indebted to Kahnian's creditors, and nominated Sultan David his heir. Nazar seems to have owned a large estate in Julfa⁴⁰ and on obtaining possession of this estate, Sultan David, according to his own statement, decided to satisfy the creditors of Nazar and sent his son Shahmir Sultan (who was entrusted with some goods by the Sultan's agent Margar at Surat as well) with a parcel of Bengal goods to New Julfa. Once Shahmir arrived in New Julfa, he and his mother Anam fell victim to the torture of the *kalantar* (mayor) Sarkies of New Julfa. In an attempt to expropriate the wealth of Nazar, he forced them to issue bills of exchange on Sultan David in Madras, and a statement revoking the will of Nazar. These bills reached Fort St. George via Bombay.⁴¹ The comment Sultan David made in this context is noteworthy:

your death Sultanam shall collect what Effects remain and he may take them and carry them where he pleases. After Amnam Peree's death my sister Annam and Sultanum shall possess my Estate, & after their death the remaining Estate shall be possessed by His Son Shamir or His [?Shamir] First Son." *RFSG, DCB, 1750*: 119.

³⁹) It should be noted that according to the family tree of Minas which Herzig has made on the basis of the archives in New Julfa, Kahnian died in 1697. See his *Armenian Merchants*: 451. It is possible, as the bond above shows, that it was taken from Nazar in Bengal by one of the brothers [and not their father who had already died].

⁴⁰) Seth, *Armenians in India*: 588-9.

⁴¹) Ibid. and Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*: volume 2: 338-9.

A paper of this kind was exhorted from them a Translation whereof I now present to Your Honour&c. Which the Calantar calls According to Law he and I are both natives of the same place and tis the first time that I ever knew or that the Inhabitants Armenians of Julpha had any but such as all the subjects of Persia are Govern'd by: and its notoriously known that *we amongst ourselves have no such thing as Law but wherever we Settle the laws of that place are our guide...*⁴²

It goes without saying that Sultan would have been prepared to say anything that he considered necessary to convince the English that he was right. But potential Armenian merchants in the diaspora did not only run the risk of being cheated and manipulated by their employers, but on their return to New Julfa, they were also exposed to extortion by greedy state officials and creditors of their principals. When he was in Siraz during his business trip to Persia in 1720, *Khoja* Zachary was informed that his master in Isfahan, who was in debt, had absconded. While Zachary lodged in the Armenian convent, state officials sealed up all his effects because of the debts of his master. Only after seven to eight months had passed did the people involved agree to refer the case to arbitration.⁴³ It appears from yet another case, that Zachary and Nazar Hakobjan were agents of some common merchant in New Julfa [?Kahnan]. Nazar was indebted to Zachary on account of dues unpaid in this connection. As he did not receive the sum from Nazar, Zachary sued his master at the Mayor's Court and the verdict went in his favor. The account was, however, still not settled when he died.⁴⁴ In all likelihood, India offered a breathing space to merchants like Zachary and Nazar Hakob. The relative freedom granted to merchants in Mughal India meant that in spite of stiff-neck competition, ethnic groups like the Armenians could trade shoulder to shoulder with other merchants, while they remained at a safe distance from the patriarch *khojas* and officials in New Julfa.

Although the cases mentioned above involved principal merchants in New Julfa and their agents in India, there are numerous instances of disputes between two or more Julfa Armenians of Madras which led to formal litigation. In some of these cases the principals acted as the plaintiff but others were filed by agents or partners, and a cursory look at the lawsuits suggests that depending on the nature of the particular transaction, all parties involved had scope for opportunistic behavior.⁴⁵

⁴² *RFSG, DCB 1745*: The petition of Sultan David, 117-8; emphasis added.

⁴³ Last Will of Zachary: 65.

⁴⁴ Zachary mentioned this dispute as still pending in his last will. See last will of Zachary; and Zacharia Avertik vs. Nazar Jacobjan in 1736, *RFSG, MCR, Minutes, 1736*: 13, 55-6.

⁴⁵ See also the network of Petrus below for defaulting merchants.

In this connection, it is important to recall the history of the administration of justice at English settlements in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mercantile disputes in India were traditionally arbitrated in accordance with customary laws and practices.⁴⁶ As early as 1686, a corporation and a Mayor's Court had been set up in Madras. It was in 1726 that Mayor's Courts, consisting of the Mayor and Aldermen who had full jurisdiction and power to punish all crimes except treason, were set up in the three presidency towns of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.⁴⁷ Long before this date, Aga Peri of the *kalantar* family of New Julfa sought the assistance of the Council of Fort St. George in recovering his dues from his agent *Khoja* Sarhad, who was based in Bengal.⁴⁸ In 1710 Lewis Melik, an Armenian inhabitant of Fort St. George, submitted a petition to the Council concerning the extortions of *Khoja* Safar.⁴⁹ From the 1730s, Armenian merchants of Madras regularly took recourse to the English judicial system and the minutes of the Mayor's Court and its pleadings bear ample testimony to that.⁵⁰ The case between *Khoja* Melcomb d' Hyrapiet vs. *Khoja* Pogos d' Khachik is interesting because Melcomb sued Pogos for an unpaid debt that his father Khachik di Marcus from Isfahan had transacted from the plaintiff in 1716. Pogos denied any responsibility in this regard on the basis of his claim that he did not inherit any money or property from his father.⁵¹

This kind of evidence coming from the judicial records is thus as one sided as the information in the archives in New Julfa that have been studied by Aslanian. Consequently, if his portrayal of the network seems to be

⁴⁶ S. Arasaratnam, *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986): 274.

⁴⁷ C. J. B. Larby, "The Centenary of the High Courts of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 12.3 (July 1963): 1044-8; also M. Choudhuri and M. Choudhuri, *Glimpses of the Justice System of the Presidency Towns, 1687-1773* (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 2006): passim.

⁴⁸ *RFSG, Despatches to England*, volume 2, 1701-2 to 1710-1. Abstract General Letter, 14 February, 1706-7: 67; January 22, 1708: 93; January 17, 30 and February 7, 1709: 105.

⁴⁹ *RFSG, DCB, 1710*: 7.

⁵⁰ See *RFSG, MCR, Pleadings, 1732-33*: 69-70, 72; between Coja Sarkies di Agavelly vs. Coja Sattur, Coja Zacharia de Petrus, and Coja Ammer Essad in 1731-2, between Coja Zacharia de Avetik vs. Coja Ammer Essad, and Zachary di Avetik vs. Safar, the son of Midas Zachary, *Pleadings, 1736*: 35-6; Coja George vs. Coja Joan, and Coja Thaddeus Aga Peri Brothers &ca. vs. Coja Avet in 1737. Avet had gone to Pegu for five years as an agent of Thaddeus Aga Peri Brothers. Upon his return, he refused to pay back his dues as the employers did not want to return him his contract. *MCR, Pleadings, 1737*: 8-13.

⁵¹ *RFSG, MCR, Pleadings, 1742-43*: 147.

too idealistic to be true, the evidence presented here only highlights—by the logic of the nature of the sources—the cases in which something went wrong. While emphasizing the norms, the behavioral patterns that were usually expected, and mode of behavior that was considered wrong, they also reveal the multi-dimensional relationships which led to conflicts even among the members of such a close-knit network with high density communication.

It is interesting to note that though many of these cases involved individuals in New Julfa, there is no reference to the Assembly of Merchants in New Julfa or their legal branch in Madras at all. From the early eighteenth century, there was an Armenian alderman in the Mayor's Court.⁵² Occasionally, when a case was presented before the Mayor's Court at Madras, the court referred it to a few members of the Armenian community who had been "nominated and appointed" by both the plaintiff and the defendant. They were chosen from among the family and friends of the respective parties concerned.

The question is why did the warring parties take recourse to the English judicial system instead of seeking community arbitration? Herzig, and following him Aslanian, have argued that the Armenian community in New Julfa was still thriving in the 1730s. It was not until Nadir Shah's conquest of Persia in 1745, and the tormenting regime that followed it, that the Armenian community of New Julfa collapsed.⁵³ As India lies close to Iran, it would in principle be easier to exercise social control over the agents in India, than over those e.g. in Manila. The commercial contacts between the members in New Julfa and India, as is evident from these cases, were close. Almost all the merchants concerned belonged to the New Julfa community and merchants like Aga Peri, the Minasian family, and Aga Nazar were pillars of Armenian commerce with a strong footing in both countries. Is it possible, that weary of the power games of the authoritarian patriarchs in New Julfa these Armenians were trying out the new, formal type of legal institution? Or did the establishment of the English legal system encourage litigiousness among these merchants? Whatever may have been the case, the litigation at the Mayor's Court shows that Armenian merchants—both in the capacity of principals and agents—operated individually and not as members of any coalition working in close coordination toward the achievement of the same goal. Of course they

⁵²⁾ Bhattacharya, "Armenian European Relationship."

⁵³⁾ Herzig, "The Armenian Merchants": 104-7; Aslanian, "From the Indian Ocean": ch. 8.

belonged to the same community, but as merchants they were also close competitors. Even in Madras where there were many Armenians, a few of them already around this time employed Europeans as executors of their will. *Khoja* Zachary had, for example, appointed John Stratton the sole executor of his will and warden of his son Avetik. After Zachary's death, *Khoja* Nazar Hakobjan seems to have tried to pose as his executor. John Stratton, however, produced the will of Zachary which was examined by Avetik (Zachary's son), *Khoja* Parsedon, Padre Alexander, and *Khoja* Thaddeus Aga Peri. They all declared under oath that Stratton was the only person who was nominated executor in the will.⁵⁴ The Capuchin friar Severini was an executor of the will of our Petrus Woskan.

Greif maintains that the community responsibility system of the Maghribi merchants allowed scope for "intercommunity impersonal exchange," but as Francesca Trivellato has pointed out, this concept leaves no room for inter-cultural commercial interaction.⁵⁵ I have noted elsewhere that the networks of Armenian merchants operated in close cooperation with other ethnic groups;⁵⁶ the Europeans were thus not the only ones who were dependent on various groups of "cultural brokers" to negotiate for them. The business of fitting out a ship, for example, was a sphere of activity in which interests of merchants of different ethnic groups were interrelated. When a ship was equipped, usually many merchants, big and small, freighted their goods on it. The trade routes to Macao and Manila in the eighteenth century involved the conglomeration of Armenian, Indian Hindu and Muslim, and European interests. When his ship *St. Ann* had missed the season for Manila, Manuel Vincent e Roza of Macao handed over its cargo to Joseph Coelho, Miguel Pedro, and Joaquim Lopes de Silva at its cost price. The trio was supposed to go to Manila and try to send the goods to New Spain on respondentia. Once in Manila, only Joaquim fulfilled his obligations, while Coelho and Pedro decided to sell the goods for ready money and bought a brigantine for 1600 rix dollars. As Joaquim was not interested in this venture, they asked Gregorio Hakob, an Armenian merchant, to buy the third part of the ship. Carrying *cauri* shells among other goods, the ship arrived at Madras.⁵⁷ In another court case the Madras

⁵⁴) *RFSG, MCR, Pleadings, 1737*: 85, 90.

⁵⁵) Greif, *Institutions*: 328. For a critique of Greif, see Trivellato, "Merchants on Trial."

⁵⁶) Bhattacharya, "Armenian European Relationship."

⁵⁷) *RFSG, DCB, 1750*: 107.

merchant Mutta Rasappa Chetti stated that while *Khoja* Marut was fitting out his ship *Neivestra Senhora del pilar y San Francisco Xavier*, Rasappa borrowed 1,300 pagodas on respondentia loan from Marut. Rasappa invested another 299 pagodas of his own and purchased painted cloth and other commodities. *Khoja* Marut took the goods on board his ship and sold them for Rasappa in Manila.⁵⁸ *Khoja* Gregory, an Armenian merchant of Madras, purchased from Aga Peri & Brothers the ship *Constantinus Magnus* on account of Sheikh Farazulla, a ship-owning merchant of Madras.⁵⁹ Petrus Woskan conducted transactions with Hindu merchants like Krishna Chetti and Kumarappa among others. Again, absence of documents in Julfa in this regard could imply that as these Armenians were living in India—and partners in these contexts were not Julfans—papers might not have always found their way to Julfa. Many Armenian merchants of standing lent money at respondentia to merchants of other ethnic groups.⁶⁰ This also involves the question of security and trust: if the person chooses to be opportunistic, the investment would be lost. Commission agency was a form of *commenda*, discussed below. Petrus lent money to one Capt. Brown and sent him on commission to Bengal to sell goods on his behalf. He also lent money on respondentia to other Englishmen.⁶¹ John Stratton, a merchant of Madras, worked as an agent of *Khoja* Avetik. In his will Avetik referred to one “factorage bond” in the hands of his son *Khoja* Gregory which was to be returned to Stratton.⁶² Holland Goddard was a trustee of

⁵⁸) *RFSG, MCR, Pleadings, 1742-43*: 106-7.

⁵⁹) *RFSG, MCR, Pleadings, 1736*: 95-6. The answer of Shaik Farazulla of Fort St. George, merchant defendant to the Bill of Complaint of Antony Fananty of the same place mariner Complainant.

⁶⁰) *RFSG, MCR, Pleadings, 1732-33*. Nazar Hakobjan had lent Rs. 8,000 to Thomas Harnett, merchant in Calcutta to run at respondentia on the ship *Bedford* sailing for Jedda. The Mayor's Court's verdict in this case was in favor of Nazar. Petition of Coja Nazar Jacobjohn, and Coja Nazar Jacobjan vs. John Stephenson and William Wells: 80-2.

⁶¹) “The last will of Coja Petrus Usan”; also *RFSG, MCR, Pleadings 1736*: 5-6 for the case between Coja Avanee and Noor Mahumud; and *1742-3*: 107-25 for the case between Moota Rassapa Chitty and Coja Maroot.

⁶²) *RFSG, MCR, Copies of wills, probates and letters of administration, 1735-44*, “The last will of Coja Zachary”: 11-12. The records of the Mayor's Court point to many other transactions of Armenians with members of other ethnic groups see e.g. *Minutes*, volume 8, Gopaldauze vs. Coja Symone, Atteepattee Comrappa vs. Coja Symone and Coja Nicose, Sandapah Moodelare vs. Coja Symone and Coja Nicose, Thomas Pritchard vs. Petrose and Thaddeus Aga Pera. Unfortunately we do not have any details about the nature of these transactions/disputes: 4, 10, 14.

the creditors to the estate of Isaacus Agha Terleci & Co. This is an aspect of Armenian commerce that needs further research before the last word can be said, but the present findings confirm the position of Herzig that though pre-dominantly New Julfa, the Armenian network of commerce worked on the basis of cooperation with other nationalities.⁶⁴

The growth of Armenian merchant capitalism was based on big and small firms which were represented by individuals who were interconnected through various economic and social ties. The concept of a coalition as formulated by Greif demands the adherence on the part of its members to a single church. But, as we know, not all members of the New Julfa community were followers of the Apostolic Church. Ghougassian's researches point to the conflict between the Catholics and Apostolics among the New Julfa Armenians. A few important families like that of the Shahmirians, whose network stretched from London to Manila, were followers of the Catholic Church.⁶⁵ Petrus Woskan, the subject of this essay, became Catholic, and built a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Miracles in Madras.⁶⁶ He wanted his body to be interred in this church after his death. Aslanian's study of the "outsider" archives in Venice shows that the Shahmirians employed members of the Julfa community at large as their agents, and the inquisition records from Seville show that at least some *commendat* agents in Manila converted to Catholicism.⁶⁷ Petrus Woskan alone had about 12 agents working far and near in his network, and most of them were members of the Apostolic Church. Petrus Woskan and the Shahmirians—judging by the dimension of their wealth, their contacts, and the employment their trade generated—were institutions in themselves. Given the attitude of the Apostolic Church—which was notorious because of its politics of exclusion and inclusion—and its impact on the diaspora, this overlap is interesting, but remains another grey area.⁶⁸ The following section of this essay will be devoted to Petrus Woskan and his network.

⁶³ *RFSG, MCR, Pleadings, 1737*: 8-10. See also the case between *Khoja* George Christaneza vs. Coja Joan where the interests of the plaintiff and the defendant were intermingled with those of Dimitrius da Costa, one Fr. Thomas and Petrus Woskan, *MRC, Minutes*, volume 8, 1736-7: 29, 32, 44, 50, 69-70.

⁶⁴ Herzig, "The Armenian Merchants": 206-9.

⁶⁵ V. Ghougassian, *The Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the Seventeenth Century* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998): 143-6; Herzig, "Armenian Merchants": 94-5.

⁶⁶ Not all Armenians in Manila, however, converted. The "schismatic" Armenians were allowed to settle in the Parian ghetto at that place. William Gervase Clarence-Smith, e-mail correspondence with the author.

⁶⁷ Aslanian, "Circulation of Men and Credit."

⁶⁸ My interviews with Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta indicate that the Apostolic Church at that place has an extremely ambiguous manner of determining the Armenianness

Petrus was born into the well-known Velijanian family of New Julfa in the year 1680. His great-grandfather Petrus Velijanian most probably belonged to the generation that was deported to New Julfa. Woskan refers to the house, shops, and the church of St. Bethlehem that were built by his great-grandfather in New Julfa. It is not known how this family lost its fortune, but when Petrus left for Madras, the family property had been mortgaged. Partly because of the political and religious circumstances in Persia, but more for the economic opportunities in India, many Armenians left for the latter country. The European settlements along the coastline of the Indian Ocean functioned as a pull-factor for many aspiring Asian merchants. The authorities of the English East India Company, for example, induced the Council of Fort St. George to attract Armenians to English ports in India.⁶⁹ A combination of all these factors led to the growth of the Armenian community in ports like Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As we have seen above, Petrus was not the only Armenian living in Madras. *Khoja* Zachary di Avetik, Aga Peri & Brothers, *Khoja* Sarkies di Agavelli, Nazar Hakobjan, David Marcus, *Khoja* Gregory, and *Khoja* Simon are just a few names that are mentioned in the consultations of Fort St. George. *Khoja* Margar—he will resurface in our story later—with his commercial contacts stretching to London and Isfahan on the one hand, and Macao and Manila on the other, traded in Surat in the 1730s and 1740s. Petrus's decision to leave Julfa for Madras has to be seen in this context.⁷⁰ Petrus noted that he did not owe any money to anyone when he left for Madras—a clear indication that his career was unlike that of many Armenians who left New Julfa as *commenda* agents. Unfortunately, the will does not shed much light on his life in New Julfa. Nor do we know much about the period up to 1724 when he finally settled in Madras. He most probably spent much of this time in Manila where he built up part of his fortune. He repeatedly appealed to the conscience of the executors of his will at Madras, the archbishop and the “gentlemen of New Julfa”—a reference to the city administration rather than any coalition of merchants—to see that his last wishes would be executed.

of the people concerned. Off-springs of Armenian-Indo-Portuguese are not considered to be members of the community and Catholics are seen as apostates.

⁶⁹ Baladouni and Makepeace, *Armenian Merchants*: passim.

The Trade Network of Petrus Woskan

The Commenda

A great part of Petrus's will details his transactions with his agents and it is therefore useful at this point to recall the salient features of the agency system as it existed among the Armenians. By and large, all scholars agree that family firms with extended patriarchal households as the basis of the business organization were a major factor in Armenian trade.⁷¹ As I have noted above, the other system that was indispensable for any long distance financial and trading network was to send out agents overseas to conduct the trade.⁷² The agency system used by sedentary merchants in long distance trade in Europe and Asia from the late medieval ages was known as *commenda*.

According to received wisdom, the institutional origins of capitalism can be traced to the development and circulation of *commenda* contracts in the Mediterranean in the late medieval period.⁷³ The business relationships of Armenians included *commenda* partnerships, true partnerships, commission agencies, and representation. The *commenda* contract—which incorporated features of partnership, loan, and in a few cases, employment—was the most popular type of affiliation among the Armenians.⁷⁴ There were basically two types of *commenda* contracts: unilateral ones, in which the capital was provided by the investor and the active partner or agent invested labor; and bilateral ones, in which a part of the invested capital came from the active partner.⁷⁵ All these features can be traced in the contracts made by

⁷¹ Herzig, "The Family Firm"; Baghdiantz-McCabe, *Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver*; Aslanian, "From the Indian Ocean."

⁷² Greif offers an interesting analysis of the Maghribi and Genoese merchant networks and the agency system developed by them for their long distance trade in *Institutions*: chs. 3, 9, and passim.

⁷³ Robert Sabatino Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe in the South." In *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, eds. M. M. Postan and E. Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952): volume 2: 257-354; Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*; de Roover, "The Organization of Trade."

⁷⁴ Herzig, "The Armenian Merchants": ch. 3; Aslanian, "Circulation of Men and Credit."

⁷⁵ For a similar account of this system as it existed among the Armenians, see the ledger book of Hovannes of Julfa. Khatchikian, "The Ledger of the Merchant Hovannes Joughayetsi." For a variant of this kind of partnership that was prevalent among the merchants of Sindh see Markovits, *The Global World*: ch. 5.

Petrus Woskan. Aslanian has noted the matter of hierarchy in the relationship between the capitalist merchant and the agent.⁷⁶ The evidence we come across in Petrus's will, however, resembles the rather flexible Maghribi agency relations described by Greif. In the case of these Jewish merchants, sedentary traders served as agents for those who travelled, and vice versa. A trader served as an agent for several merchants, while receiving agency services from them or others in return.⁷⁷ It is possible that this difference was due to the fact that a few of Petrus's agents were aged and experienced. Herzig noted e.g. that according to the Astrakhan Lawbook, one was considered to have reached maturity at the age of twenty-five.⁷⁸ Aga Sattur was Petrus's friend, and Khachik Aga had daughters who had been married off. Merchants like Nazar and Zachary mentioned above, and Khachik and Margar in Petrus's network were agents from the point of view of the merchant who initially advanced capital to them. But they were also merchants of considerable wealth in their own capacity: they maintained their old relationship with their "masters," and expanded the network by introducing others to it. The way in which Petrus's partners were recruited reflects the pattern of the network of the capital investor at his base and the agents at faraway places. For a better understanding of the network, I have categorized, on the basis of the information Petrus left in this document, the different levels of agency involved in his business. These categories are: principal level (persons employed by Petrus himself from among his friends, their family, etc.); secondary level (persons employed by the principal agents), and tertiary level (persons introduced into the network by the secondary agents). It should be noted that the transactions in the will go back to 1740. When an agent was sent out, he would often receive a sum known as starting capital. In addition, he would be given an advance to invest on behalf of the *Khoja*, or the chief merchant employing him. It has been assumed that the terms "principal" and "factorage money" in the text refer to these two items respectively. In some cases the agent added some capital of his own to the amount advanced by the principal investor.

⁷⁶ Herzig, "The Armenian Merchants"; Aslanian, "Circulation of Men and Credit."

⁷⁷ Avner Greif, "Reputation and Coalition in Medieval Trade: Evidence on the Maghribi Traders." *The Journal of Economic History* 49.4 (1989): 857-82; Greif distinguishes between sedentary "merchants," who did not serve others as agents, and "traders," who, although sedentary, worked as agents for others, *Institutions*: ch. 3.

⁷⁸ Herzig, "The Armenian Merchants": 163.

Aga Sattur, Son of Agamal at Basra

Coming from the famous Minasian family of New Julfa, this person was responsible for taking care of all the transactions carried out in Basra on behalf of Petrus Woskan. See the account below.

*Khoja Khachik Aga di Khojamal*⁷⁹

It is interesting to note that while the principal merchant Petrus's will is found among the records of the English East India Company in Madras, his agent Khachik's is found among the piles of old wills stacked up in the Calcutta High Court. Khachik was based in Bengal and operated through his family at Basra and Isfahan, in particular through his nephew Margar di Sattur and his son-in-law Augustin(ho) Petrus. Khachik had two daughters, Maramjan and Mercatoon, who were married to Augustin Petrus and Aga Sattur di Hakobjan respectively. Maramjan and her husband lived in Bengal. As mentioned above, Khachik was not very young when he left Isfahan in May 1740. Prior to his departure he had received 320 tumans from *Khoja* Nazar di Abid Aga as part of a *commenda* contract.⁸⁰ In September 1740 Petrus advanced Khachik Aga di Khojamal the sum of 18,000 Madras rupees. In 1747, Aga Khachik wrote to Petrus from Bengal that the profit on the said principal sum was 42,00[0] rupees; the principal and the profit together was thus Rs. 60,000.⁸¹

Aga Khachik took 9,000 Nadiry out of his factorage money and advanced this as principal money on his own account to his other son-in-law [Augustin P.] at Basra. Aga Khachik made several consignments to Petrus, the account of which Petrus annually remitted to him, and on it Petrus had 1741 pagodas which he entered into the account.

When Khachik Aga left Isfahan, he was entrusted by Aga Nazar and Safar Aga with two consignments of 300 tumans each on *commenda* contract.⁸² Khachik never told Petrus [the investors' agent and partner] about these

⁷⁹) Khachik Aga seems to have been the brother of Safar Aga, Petrus's friend, representative, and executor of his will in New Julfa.

⁸⁰) Calcutta High Court, Original Side, old will no. 224: "the last will of Catchik Coja Maul."

⁸¹) The transactions of Petrus Woskan as recorded by him in his last will. The copyist apparently left out one "0" by mistake as the total shows Rs. 60, 000.

⁸²) Khachik entered into a contract with the said two people to trade with the produce of the said consignment and to have 1/3 of the profit accruing from this trade for himself.

consignments and Petrus came to know about them through Aga Hazer. Petrus told Khachik in this connection that *it was customary among the factors to add all the profit* (accruing from the capital as well as consignments) *to the capital, and not to separate it*.⁸³ Petrus wanted his executors to take notice of this and settle the account with Khachik Aga *according to the custom*.

Khoja Hovannes Vangelly, Son of Gregory, of Madras

Hovannes, who also traded on account of Miguel de Gregorio,⁸⁴ [were they brothers?] seems to have been Petrus's agent in northern Coromandel. On July 6, 1741, Petrus advanced him Rs. 7,500 as starting capital. Another 1,200 rupees were advanced to him as factorage money on Petrus's own account, thus making a total of 8,700 Madras rupees. He verified all his accounts with Petrus when the latter was at Masulipatnam and Golconda. Hovannes had to discharge the principal money of his factorage, and the sum that was advanced by Petrus on his own account, or Madras Rs. 8,700.

Mahdesy Khoja Hovannes, son of Arrakel, travelling between Madras and Isfahan.

On October 13, 1741, principal money of 450 tumans in Nadiry coin was advanced to Mahdesy. In addition, 10 tumans were given to him for the expenses of his journey and the passage money for the ship, making in total 10,350 Madras rupees. Mahdesy was yet to clear the accounts of his factorage. Petrus received some pearls belonging to the factorage account of Mahdesy Hovannes and sold some of them, while the rest was still with him. At Basra Mahdesy received money from *Khoja Sattur* on Woskan's instruction. The last time Mahdesy went back to Isfahan, he remitted to Petrus in respondentia and in three different articles the sum of 1,234 pagodas. Mahdesy also advanced some money to Petrus's sister at Isfahan and received a sum from *Khoja Aga Sattur* at Basra. Mahdesy was supposed to provide a detailed account of the expenses he made during his travel from Madras to Isfahan and back on his own accord. Remaining in the hands of Mahdesy Hovannes were, Rs. 5,731.

Khoja Petrus, Son of Purnachy Joseph, Madras and Isfahan

Woskan and [his secondary agent in Bengal] Minasakan advanced 300 tumans each (6,900 Madras rupees) to agent Petrus [in India] and took separate

⁸³) Emphasis in the text here and below is added.

⁸⁴) *TNA, MCR*, vol. 7. A True and perfect Inventory of all and singular the goods, chattels

factorage bonds from him on January 30, 1742. Agent Petrus was to go to and reside in Isfahan and trade there on account of the masters. Both the masters bought goods which they delivered to agent Petrus separately. Woskan's consignment was worth 123.5 pagodas or 540 Madras rupees. Woskan's investment in the accounts with this agent, including the principal and consignment, amounted to Rs. 7,440. Woskan also entrusted agent Petrus with several bales to be delivered again to different people in Isfahan.

Once in Isfahan, agent Petrus started defraying the household expenses of Minasakan from the capital advanced to him. Afterwards, he started spending the principal sum advanced by Petrus Woskan in order to defray other costs. He [the agent] also mortgaged the handkerchiefs, *khassas*, and other goods belonging to Petrus Woskan and then he passed away unexpectedly, intestate. Afterwards Minasakan's son-in-law went to the said house and seized whatever goods there were.⁸⁵ Before the news of the death of agent Petrus had reached Petrus Woskan, Minasakan approached the latter for the factorage bond of agent Petrus in exchange for ready money, but Woskan refused to give it to him. Remaining at Basra in the hands of agent Petrus, Rs. 4,000.

Khoja Margar, Son of Arrakel Deceased

Based at Surat, Margar formed an important link between Woskan and his agents in Basra and Isfahan on the one hand and Bengal on the other. Petrus's transactions with Persia were regulated to a great extent through Margar. He was in charge of goods sent from Bengal on account of Petrus. He also sailed to China where he transacted on behalf of Petrus. He owned the *Sta. Cruz* and at least one other ship. After deducting the amount due to him, Margar still owed Petrus Rs. 37,533.5.

Secondary Level

*"Fantastical" Petrus*⁸⁶

Based at New Julfa and Basra, this person was a son-in-law of Khachik Aga, who seems to have introduced "fantastical" Petrus to the network of Woskan.

⁸⁵) Woskan was not very positive about Minasakan and wrote: "Now who is worse than Manaskan in depriving others of their right?"

⁸⁶) Vrej Nersesian, the curator of Armenian Records at the British Library suggested that it could be the curious English translation of the Armenian word "khenh" meaning crazy or madman.

The factorage bond had been sent through *Khoja* Minasakan, son of Teratham. *Khoja* Petrus never desired “fantastical” Petrus to become his agent, but when he heard that the latter had been put out of service by his masters, Woskan took pity on him. “Fantastical” Petrus promised that he would go and reside at Basra on behalf of Woskan. Accordingly, Petrus Woskan purchased goods at prime cost at Madras and remitted them to *Khoja* Hovannes at Basra who sold the largest part of the goods and delivered the profit, together with the account, to “fantastical” Petrus. *Khoja* Petrus had initially sent Rs. 1,200 but “fantastical” Petrus said this was too small an initial capital for him, so Woskan sent another Rs. 15,000 and a consignment of goods. “Fantastical” Petrus also got ready money from Gombroon but he never acknowledged anything. Petrus Woskan made large consignments to him and “fantastical” Petrus said he would remit the returns by ships going to Madras. But when the concerned ships arrived at Madras, Woskan only received the message that “fantastical” Petrus did not consider it wise to remit any sum by sea due to the wars.⁸⁷ When Woskan asked “fantastical” Petrus to hand over the accounts of his factorage to *Khoja* Aga Sattur, “fantastical” Petrus got angry and sold a great part of Woskan’s goods at a very low price, not sufficient to pay off any of the bills of exchange and the respondentia bonds. Subsequently, he became the *gumastah* of an English gentleman and was assigned to supply goods at Dacca. When he arrived at Bombay, the English, however, put him out of service. He therefore went to Pulicat where *Khoja* Petrus scolded him and asked him to settle the accounts with his attorney *Khoja* Aga Sattur. “Fantastical” Petrus left for Bengal, and thence, for Jedda. According to the estimate made by Woskan, “fantastical” Petrus was indebted for Rs. 12, 000.

Minasakan

On April 9, 1741 *Khoja* Khachik Aga, acting on behalf of Petrus, advanced to Minasakan, the son of Ter Jacob in Bengal, the principal sum of Madras Rs. 5,00[0], or 5,202 Arcot rupees for trade, on condition that the principal sum should be managed by Khachik Aga. Minasakan traded in Bengal with that capital and made several consignments to Petrus at Madras, while Petrus annually sent account of these transactions to Khachik Aga. Petrus did not have any balance on this account. Minasakan did trade to Jedda, Basra, and Surat. Around 1747-8, when Minasakan was in Madras, he had

⁸⁷⁾ The reference here is to the Anglo-French Wars in the Indian Ocean.

about 8,000 Arcot rupees on account of his factorage, but when Petrus made his will, it appeared that Minasakan had nothing left. *Khoja* Khachik Aga wrote from Bengal that when Minasakan came from Malda, he met with a Maratha army and was never seen again.⁸⁸ In Petrus's journal Minasakan was credited for 2,725 pagodas. Petrus had no account of the merchandise transacted by Minasakan. As the principal money was advanced through *Khoja* Khachik Aga, he must have had the accounts of the merchandise Minasakan traded in. As he had traded for a long time as an agent of, and on account of, Petrus, the latter took pains to describe everything in detail for the family and heirs of Minasakan in order to show that Petrus did not possess anything belonging to Minasakan.

Tertiary Level

Khoja Hovannes at Basra

Hovannes went to Basra on behalf of Minasakan in January 1747. Khachik Aga wrote to Petrus from Bengal that Hovannes was indebted on account of the factorage money that Minasakan had received from Petrus, but Petrus had no knowledge of it. *Khoja* Hovannes sent Petrus an account from Basra in which Minasakan was credited for 100 tumans, which was discounted by Minasakan to Hovannes. Hovannes also gave account of all the sums he had received as Minasakan's factor. He thus drew a bill with a demand of Arcot Rs. 4350.12.5 on Minasakan and demanded that the sum be paid to him out of the principal money Minasakan had received as an agent of Petrus Woskan.

Khoja Macarchick

On August 28, 1743 6,000 Madras rupees (6120 Arcot rupees) were advanced at Madras in ready money to *Khoja* Avid, son of *Khoja* Macarchick, son of Mahdesy Peratham. The factorage bond was signed by *Khoja* Macarchick who took it upon himself to trade with it. Macarchick purchased goods at Madras and carried them to Bengal where he disposed of them. He carried the profit from the sale with him to Basra to trade at that place. *Khoja* Petrus asked Minasakan and Macarchick not to risk bringing the principal money of Avid from Basra to Madras in view of the

⁸⁸) For the Maratha expeditions to Bengal see Kalikinkar Datta, *Alivardi and His Times* (Calcutta: The World Press, 1963).

great disturbances at sea.⁸⁹ Instead, the principal factorage sum was to be used in trade at Aleppo, Bagdad, and Basra. Avid died unexpectedly. *Khoja* Petrus wrote that the account of Avid's factorage should be drawn and the said principal with Petrus's share of the profit gained on the transactions at Basra be delivered to *Khoja* Aga Sattur, son of Agamal.

Apart from the transactions noted above, Woskan had some dealings with the agent of the well-known *Khoja* Minasian family of Surat and Bengal. In 1740 Miguel [deceased], son of Paulos, had deposited 2,000 pagodas with Petrus. He drew a bill of exchange in December 1747 [?from Bengal]. Petrus paid Arcot Rs. 4,433 3/8 to *Khoja* Seth (son of Ter Ghazar), the factor of *Khoja* Minas's family at Pulicat and endorsed the bill. At the exchange rate of 340 rupees per 100 pagodas, the said sum amounted to 1304.5 pagodas. Deducting this from the said 2,000 pagodas, the remainder was 695.5 pagodas, which did not include interest. Petrus sent Miguel a consignment of two bales of painted goods and paid him 465 pagodas for the goods at Madras. He obtained an invoice signed by Miguel.

The global network of Petrus included transactions with Abrice Ogby Mathews Calaby, *Khoja* Abraham, and *Khoja* Petrus Calaby of (?) Smyrna. These transactions followed this pattern: the Calabys dispatched money (or bills) to Petrus who would purchase rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones to be dispatched back via England. The Calabys would consequently dispose of the consignments and send back to Petrus his share of profit, together with new investments. Woskan received a letter from Petrus Calaby at Constantinople saying that the market for precious stones at that place was bad on account of wars and that he had carried the stones back with him to Smyrna and would try to sell them there. Petrus sent letters to the Calabys through his own agent Aga Sattur at Basra and also through *Khoja* Minasakan and *Khoja* Macarchick mentioned above, as they had contacts at that place.

Petrus's representative at Macao was one *Khoja* Namathola Dom Francisco [?convert], son of *Khoja* Shookoor. On this run, Namathola consigned Chinese goods to Petrus, who disposed of them and sent commodities from Madras to be sold in China. Namathola invested the profit from the sale by lending money [at respondentia] to reliable captains of ships at a high rate of interest. One consignment, sent by Namathola in June 1746, was cleared by Petrus at Pulicat in 1748 and a new account was started between the two in 1750.

⁸⁹⁾ See note 87 above.

Though Petrus noted that he, like many others, made his money from the trade to Manila, he did not leave much account of his affairs at that place. But his instructions to the executors of his will with regard to Manila do indicate the nature of this trade and the profit accruing from it. Goods sent from Madras were expected to yield a gross profit of 200 percent. This profit could be invested in respondentia bonds issued to capable and trustworthy captains of Spanish galleons and captains of ships plying between Manila and Canton, and Manila and Batavia. In six years' time an initial capital of 2000 rix dollars was supposed to turn out 12,000 rix dollars. This capital could be invested in landed property in Manila.⁹⁰

Conclusion

This essay began with the question about the nature of the organization of Armenian commerce in the early modern times. Information from last wills and other legal documents of Armenians who lived in India suggests that records preserved outside the confines of the community highlight aspects that “insider” records, by their very nature, perhaps cannot. Armenians in Madras and Calcutta often worked in cooperation with merchants in New Julfa as agents and partners, but they did not follow any concerted commercial plan and were guided by individual interest. Conflicts of interest between principal investors in New Julfa and agents, or between two or more agents, suggest that the reality was much more conflicting and dynamic than the consensual insider records would reveal. Membership of a single church, which is often said to be a crucial factor for the working of a coalition, does not seem to have been a criterion in Armenian trade networks since the groups of Apostolics overlapped with those of Roman Catholics like Petrus Woskan. Moreover, though *commenda* agents were mostly Armenian, cooperation outside the community was an indispensable part of this trade network.

The importance of family firms in the commercial circles of Asia and Europe in this period in general and in the case of the Armenians in particular has been accepted as a historical fact. The evidence above confirms this scenario: merchants worked as (extensions of) family firms and in the absence of family, merchants like Petrus depended on members of the community at “home” and abroad. The relationship between *Khoja* Petrus,

⁹⁰⁾ Bhattacharya, “Making Money.”

Khoja Khachik Aga, and *Khoja* Minasakan as illustrated by Petrus shows that an agent could serve different principal merchants, be the principal of another person, and form a partnership with other agents. As a result, the signatories of unilateral or bilateral contracts were drawn into a complex totality of multilateral networks in which the interests of father, son, kin, principal merchant, and agent were intricately intertwined through multiple accounts. This multilateral business relationship ensured that merchants on the whole followed the customary mercantile practices. The meticulous care taken by Petrus to note down small details regarding even agents of his agents who were not indebted to him, suggests the kind of responsibility expected from the members in the network. But the documents also show that there was no guarantee that merchants would not be opportunistic and both principal merchants and agents chose to be so when it suited their interests. They also point to the difficulties involved in exercising social control in connection with long distance commerce at a time when European presence in the Indian Ocean was expanding. We do not know how Petrus collected his starting capital, but at his death he left an amount of property that was worth more than 95,900 pagodas (Rs. 326,073). As individuals like him spread to different parts of the world, their interrelated interests created a huge pool of human resources that were utilized to their utmost. Autonomous individual commercial units thus remained the hall-mark of Armenian commerce in the Indian Ocean in the early modern times.

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نژادکشی ارمنیان در «آذربایجان»^۱ (۱۹۱۸-۱۹۲۰)

دکتر ادیک باغداساریان

انقلاب فوریه ۱۹۱۷ روسیه شرایط جدیدی در مناطق و استان های ملل گوناگون روسیه پدید آورد. احزاب سیاسی محلی به فعالیت های خود افزودند. حزب مساوات آذری که در ۱۹۱۱ تاسیس شده بود از این امر مستثنی نبود. این حزب در اولین کنگره مسلمانان قفقاز که در ماه آوریل ۱۹۱۷ در باکو تشکیل شد «درخواست نمود تا سازمان آنها در روسیه بر پایه ارضی و فدراتیو فعالیت کند و یک شورای قانونگذاری مرکزی مسلمانان روسیه پدید آید»^۲.

در ماههای ژوئن-اوت ۱۹۱۷ دومین و سومین کنگره در باکو تشکیل شد و در طی آن تصمیمات شدیدتری از نظر اصول پان ترکیستی اتخاذ گردید. این امر اتفاقی نبود، زیرا پشتیبان و مبلغ پان ترکیسم در قفقاز همانا حزب مساوات بود و محافل حکمتی و فعالان سیاسی ترک امید فراوانی به آنها داشتند.

ضیاء گئوک آلپ یکی از بنیانگذاران و نظریه پردازان پان ترکیسم بیشتر نوشته بود که ترکیه «آذربایجان» و «آذربایجان ایران» باید «اغوزستان» فردا را تشکیل دهند^۳. به نظر او این «برنامه حداقل» پان ترکیسم است^۴.

وقتی که ارتش ترکیه آتش بس منعقد در ارزنجان را شکستند و به پیشروی خود در ارمنستان غربی ادامه دادند و شهرهای ارزنجان، ماماخاتون، ساریقامیش، کاوس، تا مرزهای قفقاز را اشغال نمودند، اشتباهی حزب مساوات بیشتر تحریک شد.

مساواتیان و نیروهای خان ها و بیگ ها راه آهن باکو-تفلیس را مسدود و ارتباط با روسیه را قطع نمودند. آنگاه راه آهن باکو-گروزنی متوقف گردید. نیروهای نظامی آذربایجان در پشت جبهه فعالیت های تحریری انجام می دادند و پیشروی «برادران هم میهن» خود یعنی ترکها را به قفقاز تسهیل می کردند. نمایندگان حزب مساوات درسیم قفقاز (دولت فدرال آذری-گرگی-ارمنی پس از خروج روسها از منطقه) نیز به نفع ترکیه سخن می گفتند و تبلیغ می کردند. رسول زاده مساواتی و یکی از حامیان شدید پان ترکیسم اعلام کرد. بود که دریای خزر باید بصورت «دریاچه داخلی»^۵ در آید.

روز ۲۶ ماه مه ۱۹۱۸ شورای ملی گرگی استقلال گرجستان را اعلام کرد. روز بعد مساواتی ها اقدام مشابه انجام دادند و روز ۲۸ ماه مه شورای ملی ارمنی در تفلیس استقلال ارمنستان

۱ - از این نظر نام آذربایجان را در گیومه قرار می دهیم که این نام در مورد سرزمین شمال رود ارس یک جعل تاریخ و غصب نام آذربایجان ایران است.

۲ - زارواند، توران متحد و مستقل. ایرون: ۱۹۹۳. ص ۱۰۱-۱۰۰.

۳ - زارواند، ترکیه و پان ترکیسم. پاریس: ۱۹۳۰. ص ۹۲.

۴ - همانجا.

۵ - آرشیو دولتی جمهوری ارمنستان. ۱۲۱. در ۳۳ شماره ۱۷.

را اعلام کرد. مساواتی ها در قلمرو قبیله روسیه در باکو و الیزابت پل (گنجه) جمهوری آذربایجان نامیدند. نامی که هرگز برای آن منطقه تا آن زمانی به کار نرفته بود.

با وجود این که ترکیه پس از شکست نظامی خود از نیروهای ارمنی در سردارآباد، باش آپاران و قره کلیسا در پایه پیمان صلح باتوم در ۴ ژوئن ۱۹۱۸ جمهوری ارمنستان را برسمیت شناخت، اما از سیاست ها و برنامه های پان ترکیستی خود منصرف نشد.

خلیل پاشا در ۳۱ اوت ۱۹۱۸ در جلسه پذیرایی در ایروان اعلام کرد که هدف غایی و نهایی ترکیه اتحاد میهن مادر یعنی توران است لذا آنان در صدد بودند تا کلیه موانع این سیاست را از میان بردارند.^۱

ترکها در صدد بودند یک حکومت متمایل به ترکیه در قفقاز برپا سازند. انور پاشا مایل بود بر پایه «آذربایجان»، داغستان و ارمنستان حکومتی نو پدید آید و نوری پاشا باید به این امر کمک می کرد.

قرار داد باتوم امکانات وسیعی برای نیروهای نظامی ترکیه فراهم نمود و آنها توانستند بدون برخورد با موانعی وارد قفقاز و جمهوری تازه تأسیس موسوم به «آذربایجان» وارد شوند. قابل ذکر است که پایتخت این جمهوری تازه تأسیس در شهر گنجه بود زیرا ۲ نوامبر ۱۹۱۷ در باکو حکومت شورایی به رهبری استپان شاهومیان اعلام شده بود. ف. خان خویسکی به عنوان رئیس دولت آذربایجان انتخاب شد.

بدین سان در اواخر ماه مه ۱۹۱۸ نیروهای نظامی ترکیه به شهر گنجه رسیدند و نوری پاشا نیز به آنجا وارد شده بود. ورود نیروهای ترکیه به آذربایجان باعث تهییج تاتارهای (آذریان) قفقاز گردید و آنها شروع به حمله به روستاهای ارمنی زده تشویق شدند ساکنان ارمنی را از دم تیغ بگذرانند. تعداد کثیری از کارگران ارمنی که در معادن مس گنابک کار می کردند توسط تاتارهای روستاهای همجوار سلاخی شدند. جاده گنابک به شامخور بسته شد. جوخه های تاتار با کمک مستقیم بیگ های محلی برای کشتار مردم و چپاول اموال آنها به روستاهای ارمنی نشین شامخور حمله کردند. ساکنان روستاهای چارداخلو، باداکند، بارسوم، گارناکر، زاگیر، سالرو دیگر روستاهای کوچک برای دفاع از خود به مقابله با یورش تاتارها برخاستند. آنها یک جوخه سواره نظام ۵۰۰ نفری تشکیل دادند که پیوسته در روستاهای ارمنی گردش می کرد و از مردم در مقابل دشمن پاسداری می نمود.

حکومت خان خویسکی نه تنها از کشتار ارمنیان جلوگیری نمی کرد بلکه خود عملیات نیروهای نظامی و جمعیت اوباش و اراذل را رهبری می کرد. وضع بسیار وخیمی برای ساکنان ارمنی روستاهای همجوار گنجه پدید آمد زیرا نیروهای ترکیه به آن منطقه وارد شده و کشتار و چپاول ارمنیان را برنامه ریزی می کردند. ساکنان محله های ارمنی در ترس و وحشت قرار داشتند. قتل ارمنیان، چپاول مغازه ها و منازل آنها به امری روزمره تبدیل شده بود.

نوری پاشا فرمانده نیروهای نظامی ترکیه دستور داد محله های ارمنی تحت محاصره در آمده همه ارمنیان خلع سلاح شوند. به ارمنیان اخطار داده می شود تا سلاحهای خود را به ترکها

^۱ - آرشو دولتی جمهوری ارمنستان. ۲۰۰، ۱، ۱۹۶، شماره ۴۸-۴۷.

تحويل دهنده در غير اينصورت آنها بلافاصله و در جا تيرباران می شدند. خلع سلاح ارمنيان يك هدف مشخص داشت و آن بی دفاع کردن آنها و انجام آسان برنامه کشتارها بود. ارمنيان با آگاهی از خطر کشتارها اسلحه های خود را تحويل ندادند لذا محله های ارمني گنجه مورد يورش و چپاول قرار می گیرند. یکی از افسران ترک که شاهد و شریک رویدادها بود نوشته است: «در برخورد های امروز تلفات ما شامل ۱۳ کشته و ۶ زخمی است، یک افسر نیز جزو کشته شدگان است»^۱. به دستور فرمانده ارتش مسلمانان محله های ارمني شهر زیر شلیک توپ قرار گرفتند. از گزارش های جنگی می توان به میزان عظیم ذخیره گلوله های آنها پی برد. ارتش «اسلام»^۲ روز ۱۵ ژوئن ۱۹۱۸ عملیات نظامی را به مسیر باکو کشاند. نیروهای نظامی آذری به لشکرهای پنجم و ۱۵-م ترکیه پیوستند و انبوه جمعیت اوباش و اراذل مسلح نیز برای چپاول مناطق اشغالی به دنبال آنها حرکت می کردند.

تاتارهایی که از گنجه آمده بودند در مسیر شماخی روستاهای ارمني را به آتش می کشیدند و آنان را به قتل می رساندند. آنها ۳۰ خانواده را که از کشتارها جان سالم بدر برده بودند به اسارت بردند. ارتش ترکیه و اوباش و اراذل مسلح ده ها هزار نفر ارمنيان ساکن روستاهای ارمني نوخی، آرش، کیوکچه از دم تیغ گذراندند. تعداد قلیلی از آنان که از کشتارهای وحشتناک نجات یافته بودند تلاش می کردند به گرجستان پناه ببرند اما به علت آنکه دولت منشیوکی گرجستان مرزها را بسته بود آنها مجبور شدند در نواحی همجوار پناه بگیرند^۳.

۲۷ ژوئن ۱۹۱۸ جنگ خونین باکو میان نیروهای مسلح شورای نمایندگان کارگران باکو و نیروهای نظامی ترک ها و تاتارها آغاز شد. نیروهای کمون باکو هیچ کمکی دریافت نمی کردند اما تاتارها و ترکان بتدریج به توان خود می افزودند. بزودی سرهنگ بیچیراخوف دست به خیانت زد و سپاه خود را از جبهه خارج کرد. شورای باکو برای حفاظت از جبهه تصمیم گرفت نیروهای نظامی انگلیس را از ایران به باکو دعوت کند. فراکسیون بلشویکهای شورا استعفا داد و از شورا خارج شد و حکومت به دست کاسپین مرکزی افتاد. اینان نیز نتوانستند از باکو دفاع کنند. چند ساعت پیش از سقوط باکو نیروهای نظامی انگلیس به فرماندهی ژنرال دنستر ویل از شهر دور شدند.

روز ۱۵ سپتامبر ۱۹۱۸ قشون ترک و تاتار باکو را تصرف کردند. همان روز نیز کشتار ارمنیان باکو آغاز گردید. «سه روز تمام از صبح روز ۱۵ سپتامبر تا ۱۷ سپتامبر، روزهای یکشنبه، دوشنبه و سه شنبه شهر در اختیار ترکان خون آشام قرار داشت. نیروهای منظم ارتش ترکیه و تاتارها و اوباش و اراذل مسلح دست به خونریزی و قتل و غارت زدند»^۴. عملیات قتل و کشتار و غارت به فرماندهی ف. خان خویسکی و جوانشیر خان هدایت می شد. نسل کشی ارمنیان به همان روشهایی صورت می گرفت که در ارمنستان غربی انجام شده بود.

۱ - آرشیو دولتی جمهوری ارمنستان. مجموعه ۱۱۲. شماره ۱۸.

۲ - نام جعلی توسط تاتارها و سو استفاده از احساسات دینی مسلمانان.

۳ - آرشیو دولتی. بخش ۱۲۱، ۱، ۲۶ سندهای شماره ۱۸-۱۶.

۴ - ب. ایشخانیان، وحشت بزرگ در باکو، تفلیس: ۱۹۲۰. ص ۶.

بر اساس آمار شورای ملی ارمنی باکو، تا زمان کشتارهای ماه سپتامبر ۱۹۱۸، از ۸۸،۶۷۳ از ارمنیان باکو ۵۲،۸۲۲ نفر قربانی شدند یعنی ۵۹،۵۷٪ جمعیت ارمنی^۱. گویی هیچ اتفاقی در باکو روی نداده بود. روز ۱۹ سپتامبر رئیس حکومت خطاب به ساکنان جمهوری اعلام کرد که همه ساکنان جمهوری آذربایجان صرف نظر از اعتقاد و تعلق ملی باید از حقوق برابر برخوردار باشند لذا خود موظف است زندگی، جان و مال مردم را ضمانت کند. چنین اعلامیه‌های مضحک و مسخره آمیز تنها می‌تواند از زبان سردمداران حکومت خون آشام «آذربایجان» مساواتی و «آذربایجان شوروی» شنیده شود. حقوق و برابری ملتی که دیگر وجود ندارد!

بزودی انگلستان جای ترکها را در قفقاز گرفتند و در جهت منافع سیاسی و اقتصادی خود به حمایت از آذربایجان پرداختند. با حمایت آنها خسرو بیگ سلطنت به فرمانداری قره باغ و زانگروز برگزیده شد. ۹۵٪ جمعیت این مناطق ارمنیان محلی بودند که از سال ۱۹۱۸ برای نگاهداری جان و مال خود مبارزه می‌کردند.

پس از رویدادهای خونین باکو، کشتار ارمنیان گنجه، شماخی، نوحی و روستاهای ارمنی نشین «آذربایجان» تدارک دیده می‌شد. جاده‌ها کاملاً ناامن شده بودند. مسافران ارمنی غالباً مورد چپاول قرار می‌گرفتند. تنها در منطقه الیزابت پل ۱۳ روستای ارمنی به آتش کشیده شد و بخشی از ساکنان آنها به قتل رسید و بقیه تبعید شدند^۲.

کشتارهای جمعی ارمنیان در شوشی (قره باغ، شب ۲۲ مارس ۱۹۲۰) نیز روی داد. این کشتارها توسط دولت آذربایجان برنامه ریزی شده بود. ۳۰ هزار نفر در این جریان جان خود را از دست دادند. هم نیروهای منظم نظامی و هم جمعیت اوباش و ارادل مسلح شریک این جنایت بودند. نسل کشی ارمنیان در آذربایجان با اهداف سیاسی، اقتصادی و مذهبی صورت می‌گرفت. شعار و ایدئولوژی اصلی آذربایجان مساواتی همانا پان ترکسیم بود. از بنیانگذاران این ایدئولوژی باید زینال تقی اف، علی حسین زاده، احمد آقاییف، علی مردان توپچی باشف را نام برد. برخی از آنان فعالیت‌های زیادی در ترکیه انجام داده بودند. این ایدئولوژی همان بود که ترکان جوان را به سوی بزرگترین جنایتکار شدن تاریخ راهنمایی کرد. ملت ارمنی از کیلیکیه تا آناتولی شرقی، ارمنستان غربی، تا قفقاز و باکو مانعی برای تحقق و پیدایی توران بزرگ بود. گرچه این انگیزه داخلی و محلی بود اما حامیان اصلی این سیاست دولتهای اروپایی بودند که در جهت مهار نفوذ در حال گسترش روسیه امپدوار بودند با استقرار حکومت متحده ترکی-اسلامی دور تا دور روسیه از استامبول تا صحرای ترکستان چین، روسیه را منزوی کنند و خود به تنهایی به چپاول منابع ثروت سرشار کشورها و ملل آسیا بپردازند. بی علت نیست که حتی تا امروز نیز اروپا، آمریکا، ترکیه، آذربایجان، اسرائیل، فراماسونری، صهیونیسم، دولتهای مخفی یهود هم رای و هم زبان بر جان و مال ملل بی پناه، می‌تازند.

۱- ای. موسسوا، آ. هونانیا، کشتارهای باکو، ایروان: ۱۹۹۲، ص ۶۸.

۲- اسناد آرشیو دولتی جمهوری ارمنستان. ۲۷۸، ۱، ۱۴، اسناد ۸۹-۸۷.

آذربایجان برای اتصال با ترکیه مناطق البزابت پل (گنجه)، آرتساخ (قره باغ) زانگور، نجوان و شاور، مناطق ساداراک، ودی باسار، مناطق زانگی باسار، سواحل شمالی ارس، دامنه های کوه های آرات، سرتاسر ناحیه سورمالو تا استان قارص را از جمهوری ارمنستان ادعا می کرد. آنها همچنین سواحل شمالی دریایچه سوان (وارتنیس) را نیز می خواستند. به نوشته روبن ترمیناسیان، آذربایجان وسعتی بالغ بر ۵۲،۵۲۰ کیلومتر مربع از قلمرو ارمنستان را طلب می کرد.^۱ آذربایجان برای رسیدن به اهداف خود مسلمانان این مناطق را بر علیه دولت جمهوری ارمنستان می شورانید. هدف مشترک ترکیه و «آذربایجان» تصرف کامل قفقاز بود. ترکها نیک می دانستند که تغییر هویت کامل ملی و دینی ارمنیان غیر ممکن بود لذا اقدام به نژادکشی این ملت زد. شمار جمعیت ارمنی در «آذربایجان» (سرزمین که بخش اعظم آن در زمان باستان جزو قلمره ارمنستان بود. همانگونه که بخش اعظم ترکیه در قلمرو ارمنستان باستان قرار می گرفت) حدود ۵۰۰،۰۰۰ نفر بود که یک چهارم کل جمعیت جمهوری را تشکیل می داد. با انهدام ارمنیان، سران جمهوری در صدد تشکیل ملتی یک پارچه و تک عنصری بودند.

این مطلب نیز قابل توجه است که از دهه ۷۰ سده ۱۹ قفقاز در حیطه تحولات سرمایه داری قرار گرفت. باکو که یکی از مراکز سکونت ارمنیان قفقاز بود در اثر فعالیت سرمایه داری طبقه ثروتمند ارمنی تبدیل به مرکز اصلی تجمع سرمایه ارمنیان و بورژوازی ارمنی گردید. بخش قابل توجهی از چاه های نفت باکو به صاحبان صنایع ارمنی تعلق داشت. نقش برخی نمایندگان بورژوازی ارمنی در تجارت داخلی و خارجی چشمگیر بود.

محافل بورژوازیای مسلمانان در مقابل خود حریفان مقتدری را می دیدند و تنها راه خلاصی از بورژوازی ارمنی انهدام فیزیکی آنان بود. انهدام بورژوازی ارمنی یک هدف دیگر نیز داشت، با حذف بورژوازی ارمنی مبارزات ملی-آزادبخش ملت ارمنی بی پشتیبان می گردید.

کشتار ارمنیان روستاها نیز باعث می شد مسلمانان چادر نشین گله دار صاحب خانه و کاشانه و زمین ها و چراگاه های وسیع گردند.

ماه آوریل ۱۹۲۰ حکومت شوروی در «آذربایجان» مستقر شد. این تغییر در ماهیت حکام و دستگاه حکومت اثری نگذاشت و تنها تابلوی جمهوری تغییر نام داد و به جمهوری شوروی سوسیالیستی آذربایجان تبدیل شده اما سیاست نژاد پرستانه و پان ترکیستی حکام کماکان گاه بطور آشکار گاه در خفا حفظ و اجرا می شد.

پس از استقرار حکومت شوروی در باکو، سردمداران دولتی و ارتش یازدهم سرخ مستقر در آنجا از جمهوری ارمنستان خواستار خروج نیروهای نظامی خود از قره باغ، زانگور و نجوان شدند و در تابستان ۱۹۲۰ قوای شوروی به اشغال این مناطق مبادرت ورزیدند. گلوله باران مناطق مسکونی ارمنی قره باغ و زانگور آغاز شد.

بزودی قوای نظامی کمال آتاتورک نیز به آنها پیوست و جنگ با جمهوری ارمنستان را آغاز کردند. دولت ارمنستان چنان تضعیف گردید که تنها راه رهایی ملت ارمنی برقراری

^۱ - روبن. خاطرات یک انقلابی. جلد ۱. تهران: ۱۹۸۲. ص ۱۸۴.

حکومت شوروی در ارمنستان در ۲۹ نوامبر ۱۹۲۰ بود. دولت ارمنستان روز دوم دسامبر ۱۹۲۰ طی قراردادی حکومت را به سران بلشویکهای ارمنی سپرد (ظهر) و نیمه شب همان روز قرار داد ننگین آلکساندرایلی را با دولت آتاترک منعقد نمود.

کمیته انقلابی آذربایجان شوروی در پی برخی صلاحدید سیاسی، روز ۳۰ نوامبر ۱۹۲۰، قره باغ، زانگزور و نخجوان را جزو جدایی ناپذیر ارمنستان شوروی اعلام کرد. لیکن این بازی های سیاسی به درازا نکشید. چند ماه بعد رهبران آذربایجان مبارزه شدیدی بر علیه اعلامیه خود آغاز کردند.

روز ۱۶ ماه مارس ۱۹۲۱ پیمان دوستی روسیه شوروی و ترکیه در مسکو منعقد شد (پیمان مسکو). بر اساس این پیمان سرزمینهای باستانی ارمنستان شامل ارمنستان غربی، سورمالو، استان قارص به ترکیه و نخجوان و شارور به آذربایجان شوروی سپرده شدند. ارمنیان در انعقاد این پیمان شرکت نداشتند و این اقدام دولت شوروی هیچ مشروعیت قانونی نداشت.

قرباغ کوهستانی نیز به همین سرنوشت محکوم شد. روز ۵ ژوئیه ۱۹۲۱، پلنوم دفتر سیاسی حزب بلشویک قفقاز بدون رای گیری، قره باغ کوهستانی را به آذربایجان داد. شورای وزیران آذربایجان شوروی روی ۷ ژوئیه ۱۹۲۳ استان خود مختار قرباغ کوهستانی را تشکیل داد. ۹ فوریه ۱۹۲۴ جمهوری خود مختار نخجوان شوروی تاسیس شد. پس از ضمیمه شدن قهرآمیز این سرزمین ها به آذربایجان شرایط جدیدی برای ارمنیان ساکن این مناطق پیش آمد که تنها می توان آن را «نژادکشی سفید یا بدون خون ریزی» تعریف کرد. از پاییز ۱۹۲۱ خروج ارمنیان از قره باغ (دشت و کوهستانی) آغاز شد.

حکومت آذربایجان برای قطع ارتباط قرباغ کوهستانی با ارمنستان منطقه کارواجار (کلباجار) را «کردستان سرخ» اعلام کرد که شامل منطقه کارواجار و لاجین بود و ارمنستان را از قرباغ جدا می کرد.

اقدام بعدی دولت جمهوری «آذربایجان» شوروی مبارزه علیه مهاجران ارمنی نخجوان و شارور بود که سعی داشتند به موطن و خانه های خود باز گردند. ساکنان ارمنی این مناطق که در اوایل دهه ۱۹۲۰ مجبور به جلائی وطن شده بودند در خواستهای عدیده ای به دولت روسیه شوروی، ارمنستان و آذربایجان و سران حزبی ارسال کرده بودند تا اجازه بازگشت به خانه های خود گردند. در سال ۱۹۱۷ شمار ارمنیان نخجوان بالغ بر ۵۳،۹۰۰ نفر بود که ۴۰٪ کل جمعیت این ناحیه را تشکیل می داد. در سالهای پس از استقرار دولت شوروی در آذربایجان بتدریج این جمعیت تقلیل یافت و امروز به صفر رسیده است. م. موسی بگف رئیس دولت آذربایجان در تاریخ ۲۴ ژوئن ۱۹۲۲ طی تلگرافی به دولت ارمنستان شوروی اعلام کرد که ورود گروهی ارمنیان به مرز های خود را ممنوع اعلام می کند^۱.

در خواستهای متعدد آوارگان ارمنی نخجوان خطاب به مقامات آذربایجان و نخجوان بی پاسخ ماند.

^۱ - آرشو اسناد دولتی جمهوری ارمنستان. ۱۲۳، ۴۲، ۸ شماره ۱۳.

آلکسی ریکف رئیس شورای وزیران اتحاد شوروی روز ۱۱ ماه مارس ۱۹۲۵ در همین رابطه از نخجوان دیداری به عمل آورد. او دولت آذربایجان را به «ایجاد تنش و وحشیگری» متهم ساخت.^۱ «اقدامات قاطعانه ای انجام گرفت و حتی برخی از مقامات تیرباران شدند»^۲.

لیکن این اقدامات وضع را تغییر نداد. ۶ ماه مه ۱۹۲۶ کمیته مرکزی حزب کمونیست آذربایجان اعلام کرد «انجام اصلاحات ارضی، تقسیم اراضی در جمهوری نخجوان بعثت قلت و وسعت اراضی و اسکان مجدد در خواست کنندگان برای دریافت زمین جهت انجام کشاوری ممنوع اعلام می شود»^۳.

مسئله ارمنیان آواره نخجوان روز ۱۲ ژوئن ۱۹۲۶ زمانی که کمیته مرکزی حزب آذربایجان به پرسش کمیته مرکزی حزب در قفقاز پاسخ داد. در همان تاریخ سرشماری انجام شد که بر اساس آن ارمنیان ۱۱،۳۰۰ نفر یعنی ۱۰/۸٪ جمعیت را تشکیل می دادند. بدین سان در طول ده سال شمار جمعیت ارمنیان منطقه ۴۲،۶۰۰ نفر کاهش یافت.

سیاست نژادکشی بدون خونریزی در آذربایجان در دهه های آینده نیز اعمال گردید. لیکن اعمال آنها در هدف بعدی آنها یعنی قراباغ قرین موفقیت نگردید و اهالی ارمنی این منطقه پس از ۷۰ سال مبارزه در دهه ۱۹۹۰ سایه ننگین ترکان -تاتارهای خون آشام را از این سرزمین دور کردند و راه زندگی آزاد و شرافتمندانه را برگزیدند.^۴

کشتار ارمنیان سومگائیت «آذربایجان» شوروی

در اواخر دهه ۱۹۸۰ قیام های آزادیبخش مردم در قراباغ و ارمنستان آغاز شدند. ارمنیان قراباغ طی حدود ۷۰ سال همواره در پی فرصتی برای رهایی از یوغ ننگین حکومت آتش و خون، چادرنشینهای ترک و تاتار بودند.

روزهای ۲۹-۲۷ ماه فوریه ۱۹۸۸ در شهر سومگائیت در نزدیکی باکو پایتخت جمهوری «آذربایجان» کشتار وحشیانه ارمنیان شهر به اجرا در آمد در نتیجه ده ها نفر ارمنی کشته و حدود ۲۰۰ نفر زخمی شدند. پس از این کشتار جمعیت ۱۸ هزار نفری ارمنی شهر را ترک و مسیر مهاجرت انتخاب کرد.

۱ - و. خوجاگیان. آرتساخ در روزهای مصیبت بار. ایروان: ۱۹۹۱. ص ۷۴.

۲ - آرشو اسناد دولتی جمهوری ارمنستان. ۱۳۰، ۸۶، ۱۱۷، شماره ۲۷.

۳ - همانجا. ص ۶۹.

۴ - برای آگاهی بیشتر به ۷ جلد کتاب تاریخ سیاسی ارمنستان، بقلم اینجاناب مراجعه شود. تورونتو: ۲۰۱۳.



گروهی از قربانیان ارمنی سومگائیت

کشتار ارمنیان توسط مقامات محلی آذربایجان برنامه ریزی شده بود و مقامات انتظامی چند روز را دست روی دست گذاشته و اقدامی برای جلوگیری از این جنایت به عمل نیاوردند. دولت مرکزی پس از سه روز نیروهای نظامی به محل سومگائیت فرستاد. سربازان بازحمت و دشواری زیاد توانستند کشتار ارمنیان را متوقف سازند و ارمنیان را از شهر خارج کنند. حکومت باکو تلاش می کرد این رویداد را به یک گروه اشار و ارادل نسبت دهد و طبعاً مقامات دولتی شوروی در مسکو نیز چنین صحنه سازی وقیحانه ای به عمل آوردند.



اجساد کشته های ارمنی

به منظور جلوگیری از آشکار شدن حقایق و مسببین واقع، محاکمه جنایتکاران در عمل با شکست روبرو شد. در شهرهای مختلف اتحاد شوروی محاکمه های جداگانه انجام شد و تنها چند نفر به اتهام شراکت در این کشتار محکوم شدند اما سازمان دهندگان اصلی بدون مجازات باقی ماندند.

مقامات دولتی آذربایجان با اجرای کشتار ارمنیان سومگائیت بار دیگر اثبات کردند که سیاست و نظریه پان ترکیستی قدیم کماکان چراغ راه آنان بر علیه بشریت محسوب می شود. آنان در صدد بودند با انجام این کشتار ضرب چشم به ارمنیان قراباغ نشان دهند و آنان را از خواسته های بحق آزادی بهراسانند. لیکن ارمنیان قراباغ جواب دندان شکنی به ارتش و نیروهای نظامی و انتظامی

تاتار دادند و اکنون بیش از ۲۰ سال است که جمهوری مستقل و آزاد خود را برپا کرده و به آبادانی آن مبادرت می‌روزند.

انگیزه های قتل عام و مسئولین آن

علل و انگیزه های اصلی قتل عام ارمنیان را می‌توان بطور خلاصه چنین مطرح کرد:
۱- استحاله و انهدام ملت ارمنی بخش جدایی ناپذیر فرآیند تشکیل ملت ترک در ترکیه بود.

۲- «مسئله ارمنی» در قالب «مسئله شرق» و وجود ارمنیان در قلمرو حکومت ترکها بهانه ای برای دولت های امپریالیستی اروپایی بود تا توسط آن بتوانند در امور حکومت ترک دخالت کنند.

۳- دخالت محافل فراماسونری در طراحی قتل عام ارمنیان. با انهدام ملت ارمنی رقیب شماره یک صهیونیست های ترکیه از میان برداشته می‌شد. باید توجه داشت که شخصیت های عثمانی و گروه اتحاد و ترقی و حکومت بعدی کمالی یا اصلاً "یهودی بودند و یا به تشکیلات فراماسونری تعلق داشتند. برای نمونه طلعت پاشا، کمال آتاترک، پرنس احمد کمال الدین افندی و نورالدین افندی و فرزندان سلطان عبدالمجید) مصطفی رشید پاشا، وزیر اعظم و غیره.

۴- ارمنیان و جنبش آزادیبخش ارمن مانع بزرگی برای اجرای طرحهای توسعه طلبانه پان ترکیستها بودند که محرکان اصلی گروه اخیر دولتهای آلمان، انگلیس و فرانسه (در برهه های مختلف زمانی) بودند. جنبش واقعی آزادیبخش ارمنیان تمایلات روسی داشت و این امر در تضاد با منافع غرب بود.

۵- استقلال کشورهای سابق تابع امپراتوری عثمانی (بلغارستان، یونان و بالکان) باعث شد این کشور توجه خود را به مرزهای شرقی معطوف کرده جنبش های ارمنی را سرکوب نماید.
۶- عملیات تروریستی و ماجراجویانه و غیردوراندیش برخی از گروه ها.

مسئولین اصلی کشتارهای ارمنیان عبارتند از:

- ۱- آلمان، اتریش - مجارستان، انگلستان، فرانسه و روسیه تزاری.
- ۲- سازمان های مخفی جهانی که دولت های امپریالیستی در جنگ آنها قرار داشتند.
- ۳- حکومت های عثمانی، اتحاد و ترقی و کمال آتاترک.
- ۱- گروه های مزدور ساکن شرق و مرکز ترکیه.

روز ۸ ماه مارس ۱۹۱۹ با فرمان مخصوص سلطان محمد ششم وحید الدین (۲۲-۱۹۱۸) رهبران حزب اتحاد و ترقی و وزرای آنان به دادگاه فوق العاده نظامی استامبول تحویل شدند. در جریان محاکمات ده نفر در غیاب و ۲۰ نفر شخصیت حزبی و حکومتی بطور علنی محاکمه شدند.



شماره ۱۸، ۱۹۱۷-۱۸



شماره ۱۸، ۱۹۱۷-۱۸

افراد زیر غیابی محاکمه شدند:

- ۱- طلعت پاشا وزیر داخله، وزیر اعظم (۱۸-۱۹۱۷).
- ۲- انور پاشا، وزیر جنگ.
- ۳- جمال پاشا، وزیر امور دریایی.
- ۴- بهاء الدین شاکر بیگ، عضو کمیته مرکزی حزب اتحاد و ترقی و رئیس "تشکیلات مخصوصه".

- ۵- دکتر ناظم بیگ، عضو کمیته مرکزی حزب و وزیر آموزش عمومی.
- ۶- جاوید بیگ وزیر مالیه.
- ۷- سلیمان البستانی بیگ، وزیر تجارت و کشاورزی (۱۷-۱۹۱۵).
- ۸- مصطفی شرف بیگ، وزیر تجارت و کشاورزی.
- ۹- اسکان افندی، وزیر پست و تلگراف (۱۷-۱۹۱۴).
- ۱۰- دکتر روزه ای افندی، عضو کمیته مرکزی حزب.
- ۱۱- عزیز افندی وزیر امنیت اجتماعی.